QUAKER HISTORY

The Bulletin of Friends Historical Association

VOLUME 47-48
1958-59

HOLBROOK LIBRARY
PACIFIC SCHOOL
OF RELIGION

FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
Publication Office:
Haverford College Library
Haverford, Pennsylvania

v.47-48
1958-59
98890

CONTENTS OF VOLUME 47

ARTICLES:

Carroll, Kenneth L., THE NICHOLITES BECOME QUAKERS: AN EXAMPLE OF UNITY IN DISUNION 3

Davison, Robert, THE REPUTATION OF A QUAKER BUSINESSMAN 73

Hallowell, Marguerite, SOME QUAKER FURNITURE MAKERS IN COLONIAL PHILADELPHIA 67

Hiatt, Burritt M., JAMES M. HAWORTH, QUAKER INDIAN AGENT 80

Large, David, AN IRISH FRIEND AND THE CIVIL WAR ... 20

Ryon, Fred L., WILLIAM ALLEN, NEGRO EVANGELIST OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS 94

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS:

Cadbury, Henry J., THE HORIZON OF FOX'S EARLY VISIONS 30

Elkinton, J. Passmore, TO OHIO ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO: EXCERPTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF THOMAS ELKINTON 38

Tolles, Frederick B. and Hewitt, Anna B., DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS ON QUAKER HISTORY AT SWARTHMORE AND HAVERFORD 45

West, Francis D., JOHN BARTRAM: GEOLOGIST 35

QUAKER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS 49

HISTORICAL NEWS 50, 106

BOOK REVIEWS 53, 108

BRIEFER NOTICES 56, 117

ARTICLES IN QUAKER PERIODICALS 62, 122

CONSTITUTION AND BYLAWS 124

The BULLETIN *of* Friends Historical Association

Vol. 47 Spring Number, 1958 No. 1

CONTENTS

THE NICHOLITES BECOME QUAKERS: AN EXAMPLE OF UNITY IN DISUNION ..... KENNETH L. CARROLL 3

AN IRISH FRIEND AND THE CIVIL WAR ..... DAVID LARGE 20

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS—

The Horizon of Fox's Early Visions ..... HENRY J. CADBURY 30

John Bartram: Geologist ..... FRANCIS D. WEST 35

To Ohio One Hundred Years Ago: Excerpts from the Journal of Thomas Elkinton ..... J. PASSMORE ELKINTON 38

Doctoral Dissertations on Quaker History Available at Swarthmore and Haverford FREDERICK B. TOLLES AND ANNA B. HEWITT 45

QUAKER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS 49

HISTORICAL NEWS 50

BOOK REVIEWS—

Nuttall, *The Welsh Saints* ..... J. F. MACLEAR 53

Warner, *Yardley Warner, The Freedman's Friend* .. LARRY GARA 54

Hazelton, *Let Freedom Ring!* ..... MACK E. THOMPSON 54

BRIEFER NOTICES ..... HENRY J. CADBURY 56

ARTICLES IN QUAKER PERIODICALS ..... LYMAN W. RILEY 62

HOLBROOK LIBRARY PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION

Officers of Friends Historical Association

President: RICHMOND P. MILLER
1515 Cherry Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Vice Presidents: GEORGE VAUX
LYMAN W. RILEY

Secretary: DOROTHY G. HARRIS
Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania

Treasurer: ALLEN M. TERRELL
c/o Girard Trust Corn Exchange Bank
Philadelphia 2, Pa.

Curator: KATHARINE W. ELKINTON
6514 Germantown Avenue, Philadelphia 19

Assistant Curator
M. JOSEPH MCCOSKER, Atwater Kent Museum, Philadelphia 6

Editor of the Bulletin: FREDERICK B. TOLLES
Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania

Assistant Editor: ANNA B. HEWITT
Haverford College Library, Haverford, Pennsylvania

DIRECTORS

Elected at annual meetings held in 1955, 1956, and 1957

Term expires Eleventh Month 1958

Edwin B. Bronner
Samuel J. Bunting, Jr.
Henry J. Cadbury
Thomas E. Drake
George Vaux

Term expires Eleventh Month 1959

Dorothy G. Harris
Horace Mather Lippincott
Lyman W. Riley
Susanna Smedley
Allen M. Terrell

Term expires Eleventh Month 1960

Katharine W. Elkinton
Richmond P. Miller
John F. Rich
Frederick B. Tolles

The
BULLETIN
of
Friends
Historical Association

Vol. 47 Spring Number, 1958 No. 1

THE NICHOLITES BECOME QUAKERS: AN EXAMPLE OF UNITY IN DISUNION

By KENNETH L. CARROLL*

I

Joseph Nichols, the Delaware founder of the movement which came to bear his name, was a man of great gifts. The strength and the appeal which he possessed are easily seen in the way that Nichols carried his friends of the days of mirth and worldliness along with him as he made his religious pilgrimage seeking the *summum bonum* of life. His appearance as a minister had quickened the spiritual life of many people, especially in what is now Caroline County and in upper Dorchester County in Maryland and along the border of Delaware.

*Kenneth L. Carroll, Associate Professor of Religion at Southern Methodist University, is Clerk of the Dallas Friends Meeting and Clerk of the Southwest Friends Association. For earlier treatments of the movement known as the Society of Nicholites or "New Quakers," see his articles: "Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites of Caroline County, Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XLV (1950), 47-61; "More About the Nicholites," ibid., XLVI (1951), 278-289; "The Nicholites of North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review,* XXXI (1954), 453-462; "Joseph Nichols, of Delaware: An Eighteenth Century Religious Leader," *Delaware History,* VII (1956), 37-48.

PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION

Nichols' career was relatively short, a dozen years at the most; yet the work that he started was destined to continue long after his death. Many were the people who had flocked to hear him and who had been convinced by the fervency of his zeal. While Nichols was still with them, these men and women had embraced his views and had conformed their lives to the principles which he had set forth. The death of Joseph Nichols at the close of 1773 or the beginning of 1774 must have been a shock to the flock which had come to look upon him as its shepherd. What were they to do? Who could give the Nicholite movement the inspiration and leadership that it needed? These questions, among others, must have plagued the minds of the more thoughtful members of the society in the months following Nichols' death, for he had died without bringing about any organization of his followers.

As the Nicholites thought about the life, the preaching, and the death of Joseph Nichols, it became increasingly clear that they must organize themselves, setting up rules by which the life of the movement could be regulated. Their decision to organize, coming at the end of 1774 and probably within a year of Joseph Nichols' death, was signed by the group's representatives: William Dawson, William Batchlor, William Harris, Thomas Stanton, Noble Covey, William Warren, James Anderson, Richard Accles, John Richardson, James Horney, Robert Bishop, James Harris, Joshua Chilcutt, William Berry, Ann Anderson, Mary Harris, and Ann Accles.[1]

It is difficult to say which of the Nicholites provided the real inspiration for organizing their society. William Dawson and James Horney undoubtedly furnished some of the impetus needed. And James Harris, at whose house the Nicholites decided to hold their monthly meetings, must have been one of the more influential people who brought about this development. As long as the Society of Nicholites continued, he was probably their most respected member. Born about 1733, he

had his education in the way of that called the Church of England, and was in the early part of his life convinced, by the operation of Truth in

[1] This decision of the Nicholites to organize regularly is recorded in the front of the volume containing copies of their marriage records. The Nicholites' records, now belonging to Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Friends, are located at the Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland.

his own mind, of the necessity of living a godly, righteous and sober life; but did not make much progress in the path of True religion until near the thirtieth year of his age; about which time, attending more closely to the witness in himself, he joined a pious people, distinguished by the name of Nicholites.[2]

That there were others among the society who influenced the Nicholites in this formative period is certain, but their names have not been preserved. All that we are told is that, just previous to the organization of the group, "several other people appeared in the ministry, and exercised their gifts to the edification and comfort of the members."[3]

When the Nicholites or "New Quakers" organized as a society in 1774, they agreed to hold their business meetings once a month, just as the neighboring Quakers did. At first this required only two days—Sunday and Monday (or the "first and second day of the first week" in every month). As time passed, however, the period of the monthly meeting was extended so that it began on Saturday, or Seventh Day, and lasted through Monday, or Second Day.

It seems certain from what little information we possess about the period immediately following the organization of the movement in 1774 that the Nicholites had a difficult existence for some years. For several years there was the question of "priests' wages" to harass them.[4] The authorities insisted upon administering oaths to them in spite of the fact that their religious convictions forbade them to take oaths. Many people probably questioned the legality of Nicholite marriages and the legitimacy of their children. And to be sure, their scruples against fighting could only bring suffering upon them after the outbreak of the American Revolution. Just when the Nicholites first petitioned the General Assembly of Maryland for relief from these difficulties is uncertain. It was not

---

[2] *Memorials Concerning Deceased Friends: Being a Selection from the Records of the Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania, &c., from the Year 1788 to 1878 Inclusive* (Philadelphia, 1879), p. 85. This work is hereafter cited as *Memorials*.

[3] John Comly and Isaac Comly (ed.), *Friends' Miscellany* (Philadelphia, 1833), IV, 247.

[4] See Kenneth L. Carroll, "Maryland Quakers in the Seventeenth Century," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XLVII (1952), 311-312, where the Quakers' difficulty over this matter is discussed.

PACIFIC SCHOOL

until 1783, at the end of the Revolutionary War, that they found the Maryland General Assembly willing to listen to their petition to be freed from taking oaths and to be permitted to marry among themselves.[5]

For some years following the beginning of the society in 1774, the Nicholites continued holding their meetings at the homes of their members and also frequently attended meetings for worship at the nearby Quaker meetinghouses. John Woolman, during his journey on foot through this section in 1766, had reported their presence at Motherkill meeting in Delaware and at Marshy Creek meeting (near Preston) and Tuckahoe meetinghouse (near what is now Matthewstown in Talbot County), both in Maryland.[6] We are told by traveling Quaker ministers that this continued to be the case down until the close of the eighteenth century, when the Nicholites finally merged with the Society of Friends.

After some years of existence as an organized society, the Nicholites felt a need to have meetinghouses of their own. The exact time at which the three buildings that the Eastern Shore Nicholites possessed were erected cannot be established, for the minutes of the society have disappeared. It is only through a careful examination of the marriage certificates that a rough estimate of the date can be made. It is not until 1785 that we find mention of weddings taking place "at Friends' meeting-house in Northwest Fork," in the vicinity of what is now Federalsburg. A year earlier, in 1784, mention is made in the same way of meetinghouses at Centre, near Concord, and at Tuckahoe Neck, near Denton.[7]

---

[5] *Laws of Maryland Made Since M, DCC, LXIII, Consisting of Acts of Assembly Under the Proprietary Government, Etc.,* (Annapolis, 1787), Laws of 1783, Chapter 18.

[6] *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman,* ed. Amelia Mott Gummere (New York, 1922), pp. 271-272.

[7] By 1785, then, all three of the Nicholite meetinghouses were in use and were spoken of by name. At least one of them was in existence as early as 1778. Up to that year the marriages are said to have taken place "at a Friend's house," but from 1778 to 1784 most of the weddings are reported to have been accomplished at "Friends' meetinghouse in Caroline County." Ezra Michener, *A Retrospect of Early Quakerism: Being Extracts from the Records of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and the Meetings Composing It, to Which is Prefixed an Account of Their First Establishment* (Philadelphia, 1860), p. 419, deals with this question of the dates

It seems that the Nicholites at first found no necessity to establish any definite rules to govern the behavior of their members. There was a freedom in the years immediately following Joseph Nichols' death. Gradually, however, there occurred a slow shift in emphasis from the spirit to the law. More and more, some of the Nicholites felt the need for definite regulations by which the society might govern its members and they in turn might order their individual lives. Just when they arrived at this decision is not known, but the only copy of their rules of discipline found by the writer dates from the "1st of the 1st month, 1793."[8]

As is often seen in history, from ancient times down to the present, when definite rules or a discipline appear, religion tends to harden into a system and become externalized. And so it was with the Nicholites. There were many of these people who forgot the real meaning and purpose of the commands. Outward observance often came to be much more important than the spirit in which things were to be done. The external act more often than not became of greater significance than the principle which it was meant to express. This development can be seen most clearly among the Nicholites in their testimony on plainness. Job Scott, the traveling Quaker minister who visited both the Eastern Shore and the North Carolina Nicholites in 1789 and 1790, writes after his meetings with them that he was

> much distressed on account of the extreme formality which prevails among this people. They trust in themselves that they are righteous and despise others. This is too general among this people. Though truly, I do believe that there is a remnant of true, inward Christians among them,—humble hearted followers of the Lamb. May they keep their eye so single, as to be

---

of the three meetinghouses which the Nicholites established in Caroline County. It appears to the writer that Michener was mistaken when he expressed the belief that after the last two buildings were erected, the Nicholites established Monthly Meetings at each of these three places. Probably all of the Eastern Shore Nicholites belonged to one Monthly Meeting—although it may have been held at the different meetinghouses according to some system of rotation (a practice followed by the neighboring Quakers of Third Haven and Cecil Monthly Meetings).

[8] This collection of rules, to be found in the front of the book containing the Nicholite marriage records, has been reprinted in my article "More About the Nicholites," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XLVI, 282-283.

HOLBROOK LIBRARY PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION

further enlightened, till their whole body be full of light; then will they, I firmly believe, see clearly beyond that lifeless, superstitious dependance [sic] on outward exactness, which so much abounds in many of their minds, greatly to the eating out or preventing of true Christian charity.

Alas! This is the very disposition our Saviour complained of, as shuttering up the kingdom of heaven. It indeed does so, and prevents the individuals themselves, and those under their influence, from entering into a lively inward enjoyment of the coming, and the power thereof in the soul. I plainly saw them sitting in the outward court (as too many are in our own meetings) though in silence; many of them knowing little or nothing of true inward temple worship, in spirit and in truth, under the lively influence of the live coal from the holy altar.[9]

At the very same time that Job Scott attacks this tendency among the Nicholites (and in some of his fellow Quakers), he states that some of the most truly religious among them "were beginning to see beyond the dwelling place wherein too many of them were sticking fast in formality and superstition." This should be kept in mind—for it is not too long before we hear that there are some among the Nicholites who feel that it might be beneficial to their society if they would merge with the Society of Friends.

Another thing which might be noted about the Nicholites in this quarter of a century between the death of Joseph Nichols and their merger with the Quakers is that, in addition to the rules of discipline which they possessed, they also developed a set of queries. Following the custom of Friends, it was the Nicholite practice to read these queries and then answer them in their monthly meetings, doing this about once every three months. The subjects dealt with in these questions concerning the spiritual welfare of the Nicholite society resemble those of the Quakers.[10] At some points, however,

---

[9] *Friends' Miscellany,* IV, 262. Other traveling Quakers who visited the Nicholites from time to time were often left with the same feeling.

[10] Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery: A Study in Institutional History* (Baltimore, 1896), p. 110, quotes from the *Journal* of Joshua Evans concerning his experiences in North Carolina: "I had two favored meetings among a people called Nicholites. . . . They appear to be a plain, sober people, are reputed honest in their dealing and otherwise maintain a good character. . . . I observed that they had nine queries, which in substance were much like ours; these they read at times in their meetings. The last one was this: 'Are Friends careful to bear a steady testimony against slavery in all its different branches, endeavoring in everything to do to others as we in like case would have others do unto us?'"

the Nicholites tended to examine things in much greater detail and with more preciseness than did the Friends—particularly when they were dealing with the subjects of dress, furniture, and amusements.[11] This was to be expected, however, from the excessive Nicholite insistence upon plainness.

As a result of the religious, social, and political disabilities, and probably being influenced by still other factors such as cheaper land, some of the Nicholites began to entertain the idea of leaving their homes and starting life anew in some other section of America. It is impossible to say just when this thought first occurred to someone in the society or to whom it first appeared. Perhaps it was Paris Chipman, or possibly Jonathan Marine, who first thought of migration as the answer to the needs of the Nicholites. It is known that Paris Chipman was one of the first of the Nicholites, or "New Quakers," to leave the Delaware-Maryland area and go south. But at the same time, one should remember that there exists the old tradition handed down in the Marine family that Jonathan Marine, the great-grandfather of James Whitcomb Riley, was the leader of a "Quaker" migration of some seventy-five people from the Eastern Shore to North Carolina about 1774 or 1775.[12]

The specific time of the migration of some of the Nicholites from Delaware and the Eastern Shore of Maryland cannot be stated with certainty. A close examination of the information available suggests that it was at the end of 1774 or in the very opening months of 1775 that the first Nicholites made their way

---

[11] *Friends' Miscellany,* IV, 248.

[12] This tradition concerning Jonathan Marine and his leadership of a "Quaker" migration from Maryland to North Carolina was made known to the writer by his cousins, Harriet P. Marine and Eleanor Marine Dashiells (Mrs. N. L.) of Baltimore. This information is to be found in the written records of their father, the late William Marine, a former Collector for the Port of Baltimore and a recognized historian. Accounts of the Marine family history, based to a great degree upon the work of Mr. Marine, can be found in Nelson Osgood Rhoades, ed., *Colonial Families of the United States of America* (Baltimore, 1920), VII, 349-355, and Elias Jones, *Revised History of Dorchester County, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1925), pp. 415-425. Both of these works show a connection between the Nicholites and some of the Marines—especially Zorobabel (1736-1821), from whom the writer is descended.

southward to North Carolina, settling in Guilford County near Deep River. Both Paris Chipman and Joseph Standley bought land in Guilford County, North Carolina, in 1775—with Chipman purchasing 640 acres at this time.[13] It seems probable that a small group of individuals or families made this trek southward to begin a new life and that they were joined a short time later by others from the Eastern Shore community.[14] It seems that for a brief period there was also a much smaller settlement of Nicholites farther south—for we read of a number of people with known Nicholite connections living in the area of "Gum Swamp near Little Pee Dee."[15]

The North Carolina Nicholites, living in the vicinity of Deep River in Guilford, had their own business meeting each month.

---

[13] See the Guilford County, North Carolina, Record of Deeds, I, 315, 348-349. A microfilm copy of this is available at the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina.

[14] Almost all of the land grants made to the North Carolina Nicholites were located on Deep River, Wolf's Island Creek, Reed Fork, Matrimony Creek, and Haw River. It is interesting to note that these Nicholites settled in the western part of Guilford County, a section which already had a large number of Quakers in it. Perhaps these "New Quakers" desired that in this new home which they were creating for themselves in North Carolina there might be around them Friends or Quakers, a group which had been both sympathetic and helpful to the Nicholites in their earlier life in Delaware and Maryland.

[15] William W. Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* (Ann Arbor, 1936-1950), I, 826, records the information that Jonathan Marine and his sons were received into membership by the Deep River Monthly Meeting of Friends in Tenth Month 1792. At this time they are reported to be living "on Gum Swamp near Little Pee Dee." This was just below the North Carolina border in Marlborough County, South Carolina. The fact that Jonathan Marine sought to be received into the Society of Friends through the Deep River Monthly Meeting, and that Eastern Shore Quaker records make no mention of him shows rather clearly that the group with which Jonathan had migrated south was made up of Nicholites or "New Quakers" rather than Quakers. It was the Quaker practice to obtain a certificate of removal from one's old Monthly Meeting, which was then deposited with the Monthly Meeting nearest to where one settled. Other people with Nicholite connections who lived in the Gum Swamp area and were received into the Society of Friends were William Beacham (Beauchamp) and family, Isaac Linnegar and family, and Jarvis Stafford and family, ibid., I, 824, 826.

The two different Nicholite monthly meetings, in North Carolina and Maryland, kept in close contact with each other, both by the exchange of letters and the visits of ministers from one section to the other. It is recorded that the traveling ministers from the North Carolina body tended to be extremely conservative, especially in relationship to the Nicholite testimony of plainness and simplicity. This group experienced a great deal of uneasiness and concern when, in the process of time, some members began to substitute chairs for benches and stools, which had been in use from the earliest days of the society's existence.[16]

The North Carolina Nicholites continued to exist as an organized society down to the very end of the eighteenth century. They were visited by such traveling Quaker ministers as John Wigham in 1795, Joshua Evans in 1797, and Stephen Grellet in 1800.[17] After Stephen Grellet's visit[18] to the Nicholites of Deep River in 1800, they drop out of sight, disappearing from history as a separate religious body. It must be that the North Carolina Nicholites followed the example of their Eastern Shore brethren and merged themselves with the Society of Friends.

II

The Nicholite Society in both Maryland and North Carolina had only a brief life, lasting down to the close of the eighteenth century or into the opening years of the nineteenth century. At

---

[16] *Friends' Miscellany,* IV, 250.

[17] Weeks, op. cit., p. 110.

[18] Stephen Grellet, *Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labours of Stephen Grellet* (Philadelphia, 1860), I, 68. Grellet's comments on this visit to the Nicholites are highly puzzling: "We met here a body of the people called 'Nicholites,' from one Nicholas, whom I once saw in Philadelphia, after he and several of his adherents, who are mostly settled on the Western Shore of Maryland, had become members of our Society. They are in many respects similar to Friends. We had an interesting time with those near New Garden. There is, I doubt not, great sincerity in many of them." Grellet mistakenly calls Nichols by the name Nicholas and wrongly locates the main body of Nicholites on the Western Shore of Maryland rather than the Eastern Shore. Even more disturbing is his statement that he once saw Nichols ("Nicholas") in Philadelphia after *he and several of his adherents had become Quakers*—for Nichols died some years before Grellet came to America.

first thought it seems strange that its being was so brief. But added reflection brings a sense of surprise that the Nicholites existed as a separate society as long as they did.

Almost from the very time of the organization of the movement in 1774, there was a realization that a great similarity between the Nicholites and the Society of Friends existed. In their petition to the General Assembly of North Carolina in 1778 the Nicholites had claimed that "We do profess and Confess the same principles that the Quakers Doth, but for some reasons which we could render if required we hitherto have not thought it best to Joyn Membership with them."[19]

It is easily seen that the basic beliefs of the two groups were essentially the same: emphasis upon the inner light, pacifism, simplicity, plainness, and opposition to a "hireling ministry." The whole pattern of the Nicholite organization was based, consciously or unconsciously, upon that of the Society of Friends: the meeting for worship, the monthly meeting for business, the wedding ceremony, certificates of removal, etc. Even much of the terminology of the Nicholites was Quaker in origin—such as days and months being known by number rather than name and the use of "friends" as a name for themselves.

Yet there were also differences. The Nicholites placed heavy emphasis (too heavy, the Quakers sometimes felt) upon plainness, so that it became a sort of fetish, often seeming to become an object of worship to those who forgot the real reason behind this testimony. Still another way in which the Nicholites varied from their Quaker neighbors was in their practice of holding their business meeting with men and women seated together instead of following the Friends' custom of holding separate men's and women's meetings for business.

It was only natural that the followers of Joseph Nichols and the Quakers should feel a certain kinship with each other and that their association with one another should continue with the pass-

[19] See page 1 of the original petition of the Nicholites to the General Assembly of North Carolina. This petition dated "8th month, 4th day, 1778," is preserved in the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina. The petition is located in the Legislative Papers, House of Commons, August 1778.

ing of time. As has already been seen, many Nicholites attended the meetings which John Woolman held with both Delaware and Maryland Quakers in 1766. Long after Joseph Nichols was dead and his followers had organized formally and erected their own meetinghouses, many of the Nicholites continued to meet with Friends from time to time. At the same time that the Nicholites were coming together with the Quakers in worship, we find an exchange in the opposite direction. Countless traveling Friends who were visiting Quaker centers often included the Nicholites in the religious journeys they had undertaken. In addition to receiving the visits of such traveling Friends as Isaac Martin, Richard Jordan, Martha Routh, and Elias Hicks,[20] the Nicholites also seem to have been in the thoughts of their Quaker neighbors—particularly those who belonged to Third Haven Monthly Meeting in the central part of the Eastern Shore of Maryland. At this time Third Haven Monthly Meeting included the following weekly or preparative meetings: Third Haven, Tuckahoe, Bayside, and Choptank in Talbot County; and Marshy Creek and Queen Anne's (or, as it was later called, Greensboro) in Caroline County. An examination of Third Haven records shows visits to the Nicholites by John Regester, Mary Berry, Rebeccah Bartlett, John Dickinson, and Solomon Charles.[21]

Almost from the very beginning of the Nicholite society some of the group found their discipline too strait and decided to move over into the Society of Friends. Solomon Charles and his family became Quakers in 1779; Levin Wright and his wife received Friends' membership in 1791. In addition to these there were undoubtedly others who applied to Third Haven, through Marshy

---

[20] *Journal of the Life and Religious Labours of Elias Hicks* (New York, 1832), p. 62; *A Journal of the Life, Travels, Labours, and Religious Exercises of Isaac Martin, Late of Rahway, in East Jersey, Deceased* (Philadelphia, 1834), p. 53; *A Journal of the Life and Religious Labours of Richard Jordan, a Minister of the Gospel in the Society of Friends Late of Newton, in Gloucester County, New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1829), p. 30; *Memoir of the Life, Travels, and Religious Experience of Martha Routh, Written by Herself, or Compiled from Her Own Narrative* (New York, 1832), p. 173.

[21] Minutes of Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Friends, Maryland Hall of Records, III, 74, 105, 287. These records, hereafter referred to as Third Haven Minutes, are complete from 1676 to the present.

Creek Meeting, for membership in the Society of Friends. And as we have already seen, the same development was also taking place among the Carolina Nicholites.

All of the above factors added up to produce a very important development. The more discerning Nicholites came to believe that it might be of mutual benefit if they could bring about a formal junction of their group with the Society of Friends. Their reading of Friends' books and their frequent association with both traveling Friends and their Quaker neighbors had shown them that the two groups were one in the vital, fundamental principles of their religious beliefs. Among those Nicholites who were interested in this subject of union was James Harris, one of the oldest members and a minister. Out of a serious concern over this situation James Harris, who has been described as being "favoured with a spiritual discerning and stability in the truth," sometimes mentioned the subject to his fellow Nicholites.[22] Great opposition, however, arose to any such move.

Many of the neighbors of the Nicholites advised them against a union with the Society of Friends, for they feared that the Nicholites would relax in their self-denying course and in the integrity of their conduct. The Nicholites, it is written, had

> manifested by their lives, deportment, conversation and intercourse among men, the excellency of that principle which they made profession of, so that their upright and self-denying appearance connected with their upright and charitable lives, furnished an example which was not without its effect on the neighborhood and country in which they lived.[23]

As a result of the opposition, James Harris seems to have put aside the idea for some time, although he could not forget it. For some years, we are told, it "occasioned him deep exercise," so that he became more and more convinced that such a union would be "the Lord's work."[24] Eventually, James Harris and those who fol-

---

[22] *Memorials,* p. 85.

[23] *Friends' Miscellany,* IV, 250. Bliss Forbush, *Elias Hicks, Quaker Liberal* (New York, 1956), p. 101, refers to a letter of February 12, 1798, which Elias Hicks wrote to his wife, in which "Elias could understand the hesitation of some, and hoped that those who did join the Meetings would not 'be hurt by the great and prevailing deficiencies manifested' among the Quakers whose Society they joined."

[24] *Memorials,* p. 86.

lowed his leadership proposed at their monthly meeting that a union of the two societies take place. But Nicholites were not yet ready to accept such a proposal, and the stricter members were opposed to the union on the ground that "their members would feel at liberty to take greater indulgences, than while they remained separate."[25] When first made, the proposition did not meet with approval. After a lapse of more than a year, the proposal was revived and was once more defeated. By this time, however, the opposition had decreased very perceptibly. After the passing of a few months, the idea was advanced for a third time and still later for a fourth. Upon each occasion the opposition became increasingly weaker.[26]

It is difficult to tell just when James Harris and his group were able to cause this idea of union to spread among their fellow Nicholites. Isaac Martin, who visited the Nicholites during Eighth Month 1794, found that "a great part of them are desirous of joining Friends, but others are opposed to it."[27] Because the Nicholites were concerned that unity should be maintained among themselves as they dealt with this question, Isaac Martin recommended that they take time and exercise patience in order to arrive at a satisfactory solution. Martha Routh, visiting the Nicholites in 1796, wrote in her *Journal* that "an apprehension took place, that they should not long be a distinct society from Friends."[28]

Finally it was clearly seen that the majority of the Nicholites were in favor of a union with the Friends. Those who were opposed to the measure then proposed that those who were ready to join the Quakers should make application for membership in the Society of Friends. Those who were not prepared to seek Friends' membership should remain as they were. It was the feeling of the group which opposed union that such a procedure would produce the future result of causing themselves to examine

---

[25] *Friends' Miscellany,* IV, 252.

[26] Samuel M. Janney, *History of the Religious Society of Friends, from its Rise to the Year 1828* (Philadelphia, 1833), III, 497.

[27] Martin, op. cit., pp. 54-55.

[28] Routh, op. cit., p. 174.

seriously their own situation and that eventually they also might be prepared to become members of the Society of Friends.[29]

At this very time, however, there occurred a development which caused the group seeking Quaker membership to postpone its application to be received into the Society of Friends. There had recently arisen among the Nicholites several new ministers, whose appearances in the ministry were not generally approved. One of them sought to introduce singing into the Nicholite services of worship, but he was told that this could not be allowed. These persons also opposed the acceptance and administration of the written discipline which the Nicholites had adopted in 1793. They claimed that each person had the right and privilege of obeying the "dictates of his own mind, without suffering the control of any other person, or submitting to the rules of the Society." Although these views found acceptance among some members of the Nicholite society, a far greater proportion of the society not only disapproved of them but even felt that if they could not be brought to "a proper sense of the tendency thereof" these people and those who supported them should be disowned.[30]

This, then, was the situation among the Nicholites at the very time that the separation had been agreed upon. Now, however, it was felt that those who would remain in the old society would be so reduced in membership that they might not be able to deal with this "libertine" spirit which had suddenly appeared among them. So they asked their friends who were leaving them to remain long enough for some satisfactory handling of this problem to be achieved. Those who were desirous of becoming Friends accepted this plea and remained in the old movement until two of the unacceptable ministers who had continued to refuse the advice of their brethren were disowned. It was then felt that the conditions were satisfactory for the separation to take effect as had been agreed upon.[31]

In the minutes of Third Haven Meeting there is found, attached to the back of one of the volumes, the petition of the

---

[29] *Friends' Miscellany,* IV, 252; Janney, op. cit., III, 497; Michener, op. cit., p. 422.

[30] *Friends' Miscellany,* IV, 255.

[31] Ibid., IV, 256.

Nicholites, dated the 30th day of Ninth Month, 1797, and reading as follows: "To the members of Third Haven Monthly Meeting to be held the 25th day of the 10th month, 1797, we the people called Nicollites herein present to your view and serious consideration the names of those who incline to unite with you in membership."[32] This application from "Centre Monthly Meeting of the people called Nicollites," signed by Seth Hill Evitts, clerk, was presented to the representatives of the Marshy Creek Meeting, near what is now Preston, Maryland, and they in turn presented it to Third Haven for action.

Third Haven Friends, assisted by committees appointed by both the men's and women's Quarterly Meetings,[33] visited the Nicholites individually or by families "in order to feel after their growth and standing in the Truth."[34] Early in 1798, sixty-nine of the applying Nicholites were received into membership. From this time onward, the minutes of Third Haven, and later of Northwest Fork Monthly Meeting, show that a number of others who had belonged to the old Nicholite society asked to have themselves or their children taken into the Society of Friends as members.

Now there came into existence a very interesting relationship between those who remained Nicholites and those who had chosen to withdraw. The three meetinghouses which the old group had held were in the name of the Nicholite society. Those who had left the society to become Quakers felt that they had forfeited by this move any claims which they possessed to these buildings. Those who remained as Nicholites thought differently, however, and therefore *allowed*[35] all involved to continue to meet together

---

[32] Third Haven Minutes, III, 368.

[33] Minutes of Southern Quarterly Meeting for Men, I (1759-1822), 294, record the following appointees to this committee: Daniel Cowgill, Warner Mifflin, Robert Holliday, James Maslin, Samuel Howell, Isaiah Rowland, Thomas Berry, Clayton Cowgill, and John Herons. Minutes of Southern Quarterly Meeting for Women, I (1756-1816), 127, add the following names: Jane Offley, Anne Mifflin, Ann Rasin, Mary Cowgill, Sarah Mifflin, Ruth Rowland, Susanna Hunn, Cassandra Corse, and Sarah Cowgill. Both of these volumes are in the Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

[34] Third Haven Minutes, IV, 3.

[35] Minutes of Southern Quarterly Meeting for Men, I, 302, record that "the greater part being very remote from any of our Meetings, it

for worship, just as they had in the past. The only change required was that their mid-week meetings be held on different days, so that the Nicholites might continue to hold their business meetings among themselves. The two groups, Nicholite and Quaker, continued to worship together as they had done in the past.

This development, so unusual among separating church groups, was of far-reaching significance. With the passing of time, there came the opportunity for the remaining Nicholites to examine the effect which this union with the Society of Friends had had upon their former brethren. They discovered that it had not produced the "pernicious" consequences that had been feared. Those who had become Quakers "continued to be distinguished by their former plainness, simplicity, self-denial, and upright walking among men."[36] This discovery led still others of the remaining Nicholites to seek entrance into the Society of Friends.

On Fifth Month 17, 1798, Third Haven Monthly Meeting received word from Marshy Creek Meeting "that the friends belonging to Centre and Northwest Fork Meetings (Two Meetings of the people called Nicolites, the members of whom being now nearly all united with friends), request that Meetings for Worship may be established at each of those places and also preparative Meetings established."[37] This request was taken up to the Southern Quarterly Meeting (composed of Third Haven and Cecil Monthly Meetings on the Eastern Shore and Duck Creek and Motherkill Monthly Meetings in Delaware), and four months later the concurrence of the Quarterly Meeting was obtained.[38] A short time after, it was felt that a separate monthly meeting would best serve the interest of the Quakers in the central and southern sections of Caroline County; therefore, Northwest Fork Monthly Meeting came into existence on the 16th of Seventh Month, 1800,

---

became the concern of this Committee united with the Monthly Meeting to attend to their Situation in that respect, it was therefore thought right to indulge them in holding Meetings for worship at their three Meeting-houses that had belonged to that Society of People, *after* obtaining full liberty from such of them as had not applied, which meetings have been held at *two* of said Houses ever since, twice in the week" (italics mine).

[36] Janney, op. cit., III, 498; *Friends' Miscellany,* IV, 254.

[37] Third Haven Minutes, IV, 11-12. See also note 35.

[38] Ibid., IV, 16.

and contained the three weekly or preparative meetings of Northwest Fork, Centre, and Marshy Creek.[39]

As the Nicholite Society grew increasingly smaller, the Nicholites decided to ask Northwest Fork Monthly Meeting of Friends to appoint trustees who would accept title to the two meetinghouses at Centre and Northwest Fork. Northwest Fork meetinghouse at Federalsburg was transferred to the Quakers on the 17th of Eighth Month, 1799. The meetinghouse at Centre, however, was not made over until the end of 1803.[40]

How long a separate Nicholite society continued to exist is uncertain. It appears probable that a small number of Nicholites never actually joined the Society of Friends, although the two groups met regularly together for worship. Wilson Tylor many years ago wrote that he well remembered

> the quaint old bachelor, Elisha Wilson, who died during the Civil War, and was said to be the last living representative of the Nicholites. His remains lie marked by a cedar tree, (if still standing), upon the lands then owned by him, now better known as the Carter Farm, near Denton. He attended the "Neck" meeting house of worship built by Friends, but never desired to be a member. He was respected and his religious sincerity unquestioned.[41]

The Nicholites had only a brief existence. The "New Quakers" became Quakers—so that few traces of the old movement remain. Knowledge of the Nicholite movement has become such a fading tradition in the areas where the society once waxed strong that many who were born and have grown up in these localities have never heard of this unusual sect which once flourished on the Delmarva Peninsula and which gave birth to the two smaller bodies in North and South Carolina.

---

[39] Minutes of Northwest Fork Monthly Meeting, I, 1. These records are now with the records of Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Friends in the Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[40] The transfer of these two meetinghouses to the Society of Friends is recorded in the volume which contains the Nicholite birth records. Either no agreement was worked out about the meetinghouse at Tuckahoe Neck (near Denton) or else it was destroyed, for the Quakers built a meetinghouse there in 1801. This small frame building is still standing, just outside the town.

[41] Ernest Neall Wright, *Peter Wright and Mary Anderson: A Family Record* (Ann Arbor, 1939), p. 117. This book contains a brief article by Wilson Tylor on the Nicholites.

AN IRISH FRIEND AND THE CIVIL WAR

By DAVID LARGE*

No one doubts that one of the vital factors in the outcome of the American Civil War was European opinion. Intervention by Great Britain or by France would have established the Confederacy, and such intervention might reasonably have been expected. It did not materialize, and hence "the study of the sentiment of these countries . . . is essential to the understanding of our civil war," as Professor S. E. Morison wrote in 1931.[1] This paper attempts to reveal a hitherto unknown source of the pro-Southern sentiment in Britain that made the year 1862 a critical period in the history of Britain's attitude to the Civil War, and, at the same time, offers some explanation of why humanitarian and religious opinion was so slow and hesitant in revealing itself on the slavery issue.

The source referred to above is a small collection of letters that has just come to light, chiefly written by an Irish Friend, Joshua E. Todhunter, during the Civil War.[2] He was in business in New York as a distributor and salesman of ducks, drills, damasks, poplins, and other textiles, and among the British firms for whom he acted as agent was that of Pim Brothers of Dublin, manufacturers of these goods. Joshua E. Todhunter was brother-in-law of Jonathan Pim, a partner in the firm of which his brother Thomas was the head. Jonathan Pim was a prominent Dublin Friend who had won much respect in Ireland for his great labors to help the victims of the Famine through the relief committee of the Society of Friends. He was to be elected one of the members of Parliament for Dublin in 1865.[3] It was to his brother-in-law that Joshua E.

---

*David Large, M.A., B. Litt., is Lecturer in History, University of Dublin.

[1] Donaldson Jordan and Edwin J. Pratt, *Europe and the American Civil War* (London, 1931), introduction, p. xi.

[2] I have to thank Mr. Jonathan Pim of Dublin for his kindness in allowing me to examine and quote from these letters.

[3] Frederic Boase, *Modern English Biography,* II, sub Jonathan and Thomas Pim.

Todhunter wrote regularly, transmitting news and his views on the Civil War.

Jonathan Pim in turn passed on his letters to his wide circle of friends, who included Friends in many parts of Britain and a number of politicians, among them being William Henry Gregory, M.P. Gregory was an Irish landowner who stood out prominently as an active apologist for the South in the House of Commons. He was the first M.P. to attempt to move the government to recognize the Confederacy in 1861, and throughout 1862 acted as one of the closest advisers of Mason, the Confederate envoy in Britain, making several serious efforts in Parliament to push the government into a position more favorable to the South. W. H. Gregory was a popular figure in the Commons, probably due to his eminence as a racing man and a fashionable figure in society. He had spent several months in the United States in 1859, returning with a deepened distrust of "democracy," that paved the way for his later hostility to the second Reform Bill when he became one of the Adullamites.[4] As a letter of Gregory's reveals, he read Mr. Todhunter's letters and made use of them. "I am anxious," he wrote to Jonathan Pim on 29 July 1862, "that Mr. Gladstone and some of the ministers should read it and afterwards I intend it for my friend Mr. W. Forster's perusal. I say my friend Mr. Forster, as although we take different parts on the subject of the American question, we are excellent friends and both of us are equally animated by an uncompromising disapproval of slavery. . . . In the independence of the Southern republic I see the solution, which I once almost despaired ever to see diminished, of the great evil. Mr. Todhunter's letter is most remarkable; he seems so thoroughly to understand the whole bearing of the case. . . . It would really seem as if I had studied Mr. Todhunter's letter before speaking in the House the other evening. I dwelt at considerable length on the slavery question because it is the subject most misrepresented and

[4] *Sir William Gregory: An Autobiography,* ed. Lady Gregory (London, 1894), chaps. x, xi; E. D. Adams, *Great Britain and the American Civil War* (London, 1925), I, 85, 91, 267-272; II, 21-22, 155, 175; D. Jordan and E. J. Pratt, *Europe and the American Civil War,* pp. 89, 99-100, 108; T. Wemyss Reid, *Life of the Rt. Hon. W. E. Forster* (London, 1889), p. 185, where Forster describes Gregory as having returned from the United States "well humbugged by the southerners."

least understood in England, and most of Mr. Todhunter's arguments I employed."[5] Hence, although Todhunter's letters were not directly used by Gregory in his campaign in the Commons, they were valuable confirmation of his views and useful ammunition for the pro-Southern apologists in Britain. An outline of Todhunter's news and views, therefore, has some interest.

Joshua E. Todhunter was a Friend, a merchant, and a patriotic Briton, and, although he was not conscious of it, it was not really very easy to reconcile the three roles. As a Friend he was concerned with two main objects: the best way to bring the bloodshed to an end and the way to end slavery best calculated to promote the true interests of the Negro. As a patriotic Briton he was much exercized by manifestations of hostility to Britain in the North, and concerned lest this should lead the North to take aggressive action to the detriment of Britain. As a merchant dealing in goods that were affected by those in the North who demanded and eventuallly obtained, during the Civil War, a high tariff, he was attracted by Southern favor of free trade with Britain. The manner in which he attempted to reconcile these three roles is best indicated in his own words.

The first of his surviving letters, dated 15 April 1862, sets the tone in its references to the "military despotism" that is fast overtaking the North and his fears that "if the north succeeded in crushing the south I do not see how a war with Great Britain can be prevented," so great was the martial excitement, the confidence of speedy victory, and "the need to employ the half million soldiers that had been raised." But like almost all foreign observers at this time, Todhunter thought the South might well survive "the numbers and arms" of the North, given unity and enthusiasm, especially if the South could hang on for a few months more, particularly until the new tax bill came into operation in the North. The new taxes, he predicted, would bring home the effects of war to the North in a manner as yet unknown, and give the Democrats

[5] W. H. Gregory to J. Pim, 29 July 1862, Pim MSS; cf. same to same, 31 July 1862, in which Gregory says that he has written to Mr. Hankey, M.P. for Peterborough, asking him to show Mr. Todhunter's letter to Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Forster. There is no sign in the Gladstone papers in the British Museum of this transaction.

in the North a chance to revive and to impair the present Northern unity. Then, if Britain and France intervened to prevent the blockade being continued, the South would be able to maintain itself as a nation indefinitely.[6] This, as we shall see, was the guiding thread in his thought. An independent South would lead to the extinction of slavery; it would exist as a check to the aggressive proclivities of the North and thereby safeguard the future of Britain; and peace would come, once it was clear that the South could not be subdued. What was required to bring all this about was the peaceable intervention of Britain and France by their recognizing the South and refusing to recognize the Northern blockade.

The exact timing of such intervention, he considered, should be in July 1862, for his letters of this month stress the favorable opportunity that existed and the dangers of delay. As he pointed out, the Federal army had suffered a series of reverses in Virginia and "there was the strong possibility of a dangerous split taking place in the north between the abolitionists and the 'union' sections, before reinforcements sufficient to turn the scale could be raised." A large party, "including most of the Irish and many Germans, were openly denouncing any further enlisting for the purpose of freeing the negros, while on the other side the abolition party is becoming more violent in its attempts to make this a war for their liberation."[7] "If the south can continue to make successful head," thought Todhunter, "the abolitionists will be unable to carry out their views. . . . But if the confederate army were badly beaten . . . then the views of the abolitionists could be easily carried out and would probably prevail in the north, for latterly there is evidently a much larger party who want to make the war one of savages, like the campaigns of Count Tilly." Yet Todhunter did not believe the North could ever permanently hold down the South—"the only way would be by expulsion [of the Southern whites] and re-colonization." But his experience was that "of the northerners who would settle in the south, two thirds would almost at once adopt the ideas of the southern people, and with the zeal of

---

[6] Todhunter to J. Pim, 15 April 1862.

[7] For the Irish attitude cf. F. E. Gibson, *The Attitudes of the New York Irish towards State and National Affairs,* 1848-1892 (New York, 1951), pp. 134-143.

the convert." Now was the time for the European powers to intervene to prevent the war going on any longer, for he was convinced that the North would treat, rather than face "Europe along with the south."[8] As for the slavery issue, he explained in detail his reasons for believing that Southern independence was the only true remedy for the unhappy Negro, a view that comes a bit unexpectedly from a Friend.

Todhunter's thesis was that it was a mistake to think that the North was opposed to slavery; a large majority, he believed, were theoretically in favor of it, and an overwhelming proportion of the Northerners would not for a moment allow of the question standing in the way of the preservation of the union. If the North had succeeded in rapidly subduing the South at the beginning of the war, it would have gladly purchased the future adhesion of the South by the fullest guarantee for the permanence of the system of Negro slavery; even the extension of it into new territories would have been waived rather than threaten another disruption. Admittedly, he argued, if the North fails to conquer the South by fair warfare, no doubt the mass will join the abolitionists in trying a diversion against the enemy by exciting the slaves against their masters, but this will not help the Negro. In fact, he concluded, those who sympathize with the North in Britain, if they had been able to give active assistance, would have been mortified to find they had established the only power which could permanently uphold slavery as the price of reunion. "The north," he wrote, "is in reality the pro-slavery party in the present contest, and the south is unintentionally anti-slavery and should be supported by any one who honestly wishes to see that system done away, in the best manner possible for the negro." For if the South became independent, "the necessities of their position would very soon oblige them to give up slavery gradually, and, as it would be done in this way quietly with the good will of the present masters, these latter would have the inclination as well as the interest to prepare and train the negro for his new position. The negro, being of a tropical race, uneducated and uncultivated, must under any circumstances, be dependent for the means of rising in the scale upon the white man with whom he is connected. To place the negro in

[8] Todhunter to J. Pim, 11 July 1862.

hostility with the white race in America, when freed, would be the greatest cruelty to the former that could be done to him." Todhunter believed that if there were two republics in America, mutually hostile to one another, the South would be confined to its existing territory and "slavery would cease in every state in the south except the cotton-growing states almost at once upon extension of territory being prevented, for it does not pay to work slaves there, but only to rear them for sale to the new or fresh districts of the south—and it is very doubtful whether even now it would pay to grow cotton by slave labour if the planters were confined to the old localities, and were not relieved by constant emigration, first to Florida and Mississippi, and then to Texas. Certainly after a while, slave labour would have to be displaced by free, with a system of manuring and rotation of crops that no slave would have intelligence or interest enough to work properly or successfully."[9] "In brief the independence of the south," he was convinced, "meant the eventual end of slavery in the best manner possible for the negro."

Todhunter proceeded to buttress this argument by pointing out that, although slavery was "one great source of the present quarrel," it was "far from being the whole source." "The commercial ideas and supposed interests of the two sections are totally opposed," he observed. Also he criticized de Tocqueville for not sufficiently allowing for "the violence of party in Democracy, which becomes more than a mere party contest, when from extent of territory there arises the broad driving causes of different climates and consequently habits, with disagreeing commercial interests from the difference in production."[10]

As the year 1862 wore on, and no intervention was forthcoming in spite of his reiterated hopes, Todhunter amassed more and more evidence to support his thesis that the good of the Negro demanded the independence of the South rather than the victory of the North. Lincoln's address to a body of free Negroes at Wash-

[9] Todhunter was pleased to receive confirmation of his views on the economics of slavery from Professor Cairnes's famous work, *The Slave Power,* written by a fellow Dubliner, though the Friend disagreed profoundly with the professor's conclusions.

[10] Todhunter to J. Pim, 15, 29 July 1862.

ington was cited as ominous evidence of the fate in store for them at the hands of the North—expulsion from the United States to a tropical outpost in Central America. The laws adopted by large majorities by Lincoln's home state of Illinois on the subject of the Negro, preventing him from entering the state, voting, or holding office, were further evidence of the true feeling in the North concerning the Negroes. And Todhunter insisted repeatedly, there was a personal antipathy towards them among the Northerners that did not exist in the slave states. As for the abolitionists, he argued that the great majority of them "had no sentiments of kindness to the negro as a man such as would induce them to submit to any sacrifices on his account." He duly reported the increased power of the abolitionists in the autumn of 1862, but he was at pains to point out that it was "the movement party" and had "all the appearance which this gives of numbers far beyond the reality." He was, however, convinced that the mass of abolitionists were quite insincere in their professions, and that their real object was to destroy the white population of the South: "the honest anti-slavery party in the north are but a small *minority.*" He thought that "if there had ever been a fair minority of opponents of slavery on principle, willing to take on the burdens and responsibilities which its abolition would entail, the extension of the system through the annexation of Texas would never have been permitted, and long since, by some means like those adopted by Great Britain in her colonies, the slaves in the midland states would have been bought out." This would have demonstrated to the planters in the sugar and cotton states that free labor is cheaper than slave. Todhunter harped incessantly on the theme that "the ruling passion of the north is reunion," but, as he pointed out in the autumn, as Northern hopes of winning the war decreased, anti-slavery sentiments will increase, and in their mortification they will at last try to make it a servile war by decreeing abolition solely in revenge on the South." "This," he wrote, "is the secret of the variations of the political barometer as to the slavery question in the northern states." Lincoln's famous letter to Greeley of 22 August 1862 containing the words "if I could save the union without freeing any slave I would do it," was duly underlined by Todhunter in the copy of the letter printed in a New York newspaper that he sent home to Pim. "It was not hypocrisy," commented Todhunter,

"but the sentiments of nineteen out of twenty in the Federal states. . . . How can people in Great Britain think the north is fighting for the negro?"[11]

It was scarcely surprising that Lincoln's proclamation on the slavery issue, which has well been termed the ultimately decisive factor in swinging British opinion away from its pro-Southern orientation, was described by Todhunter as "mere claptrap, too shallow to deceive any but the small wing of the abolition party here who are honest, and numbers in Europe who believe in that party, and support it from supposing it is all sincere." Both these, he judged, "were blinded by their natural enthusiasm in the desire to forward a benevolent object," but what was the use "of freeing the negros by force and setting them in deadly hostility to the whites?" The majority of the abolitionists were not pro-Negro—they hate him and their object is to get rid of him—"ruthless, forcible expulsion will be the fate of the negro if the present party remain in power and gain control of the south."[12]

The victories of the Democrats in the Northern state elections towards the end of 1862 were regarded by Todhunter as simply confirming his general thesis. A month before Lincoln's proclamation, he wrote, "there was almost no political opposition to his administration . . . but when this measure was announced, which would so probably, if carried into effect, lessen the chances of reunion with the south, all the north was roused at once. And in every large state outside New England they put in a majority of men opposed to the anti-slavery principles, favorable to "the Constitution as it was," and who would, no doubt, construe its provisions very much to the satisfaction of the southerners, if by so doing it could win them back to the great object, the union!"[13]

The letters that survive for the years 1863 and 1864, both from Todhunter and Frederick Pim, Jonathan's son who spent a few months in New York and other cities in the latter year, show

---

[11] Todhunter to J. Pim, 13, 18, 22, 30 Aug. 1862.

[12] Todhunter to J. Pim, 3 Oct. 1862; D. Jordan and E. J. Pratt, *Europe and the American Civil War,* chap. vi.

[13] Todhunter to J. Pim, 28 Oct., 19 Nov. 1862. A Democrat was returned as Governor of New York state in November 1862 by a narrow margin after a bitter contest.

no significant changes of attitude. Northern successes continue to be minimized, stress was laid on the fair chances that the South still had of victory, and every sign of Northern disunity was interpreted as possibly indicating that the Federalists would in the end be forced to make peace. Todhunter remained shocked by Cobden and Bright and the pro-Northern party in Britain, writing in March 1864, "by what perversity of wickedness men can call themselves partisans of Peace, and on that profession declare the war with Russia in the Crimea unjustifiable, and oppose other interferences, whilst they hound on the northern states in their attempt to conquer the southern by which the blood of millions may be shed by brothers, is to me inexplicable."[14]

* * *

What did Friends in Britain think of the case for intervention on behalf of the South? There are a few valuable indications in the reaction of William Tanner, a prominent Bristol Friend, who commented to Jonathan Pim on Todhunter's letters. In August 1862 William Tanner agreed that "the north must and would pay the price of the perpetuation of slavery for preserving the union," and hence the war was not "anti-slavery on the part of the north." But he riposted with the sensible point that even if this was so, the war was clearly "pro-slavery on the part of the south," and he could not believe that the independence of the South would mean the extinction of the system, as Todhunter insisted so vehemently. Quite naturally, while Todhunter was alarmed at any aggressive tendency towards Britain on the part of the Federal government, Tanner was far more worried by the attitude of *The Times* and some of the British ministers. But, William Tanner pointed out, there was nothing at present that the Friends could do about "this frightful war." "If there was nothing else . . . the feeling of our American Friends partakes of far too much sympathy with the Federal cause, to allow of their pressing the duty of making peace upon their government." British Friends could not go ahead of American Friends in this. "I look," he concluded, "to the *origin* of the thing." Slavery was at the bottom of it all, and Wil-

[14] Todhunter to J. Pim, 14 April, 9, 19, 26 May 1863, 5, 23 Feb., 25 Mar. 1864; Frederick Pim to J. Pim, 8, 16, 26 April, 5, 14, 17 May, 8, 14 July 1864.

liam Tanner could have no sympathy with the South "other than of their opponents." The Civil War was "a great national judgement" on both the South and the North for participation "in a great national sin."[15] William Tanner certainly mirrored the hesitancies and perplexities that afflicted those who expressed that potent force in mid-Victorian British politics, the non-conformist conscience, in the year 1862, the crucial year in the British attitude to the Civil War.

---

[15] W. Tanner to J. Pim, 22 July, 20 Aug. 1862.

Notes and Documents

THE HORIZON OF FOX'S EARLY VISIONS

By HENRY J. CADBURY

When George Fox, about 1675 or 1676, was dictating his Journal for the year 1651, this was what he reported of his journey after passing out of York: "And I saw towards Cleveland there was a people had tasted of the power of God, and I saw then there was a seed in Holland and that God had people there." A contemporary hand, if not the same hand, inserted two expressions in the last part of the sentence so that it read: "and I saw then there was a seed in Holland *in that country* and that God had *humble* people there." Now "country" often means in the writings of this period "county." And there are in Lincolnshire near the Wash and in other English counties districts called Holland, but none, I believe, near Cleveland nor anywhere in Yorkshire. Norman Penney in his edition of the original manuscript of the Journal (1911) gives a footnote: "The district of that name in Lincolnshire."[1]

Thomas Ellwood, on the other hand, for reasons that can only be guessed, left out in his edition of the Journal published in 1694 the words "in Holland," and so the passage came down until modern times, as for example in the editions of Norman Penney (1924) and John Nickalls (1952). Probably Ellwood did not know that, four years later than the Journal, the Epistles of George Fox would be published, including one written at Swarthmore, 2 September 1676 to Friends in Holland, including the sentence: "The Lord hath a great people to come out in those parts which I saw in 1651."[2] We do not have any early manuscript copy of this epistle, but that there is no error in the ascription "to Holland" in the sense of the continental country, is proved by the ten names of known Dutch Friends preserved from the original address: "Dear Friends, Benjamin Furly, Aarent Sonmans, Sind Johnson, Pieter

[1] *Cambridge Journal,* I, 21.
[2] *Epistles,* 1698, No. 337.

Hendricks and his wife, Jan Claus [etc.]."[3] I find it impossible to believe that the Epistle and the Journal refer to different visions or that the area mentioned is other than the continental nation.[4]

There are undoubtedly other instances in Fox's writings of this period of recollection of earlier insights, especially if one recalls that what he saw included the rejection of his message or acceptance of it and later apostasy. Thus in May 1677 at Yearly Meeting in London he testified:

> And now I saw as to the priests that they were wholly in darkness and never came so far as a Core, as a Balaam; these went out of their habitations and were deceivers. The serpent went out of truth. They lead from the Teacher, they lead from God Almighty. I saw this in 1648 how far many might come; and in 1649 abundance were convinced, and about 1650 many turned from the truth when sufferings and trials came and then prophesied my downfall. Then I was put in close prison.[5]

According to two statements made by Fox some twenty-five years later, it was his clear recollection that in 1651 he had an opening or vision concerning a seed or humble people across the sea in Holland. The month is not given, but it is evidently well before the vision from Pendle Hill in May 1652. The itinerary in these months is given in the Journal and is sketched in *The Beginnings of Quakerism.* The vision from Pendle Hill from which one could see the Irish Sea was preceded by a vision from near the Yorkshire edge of the North Sea at or en route to Staithes. Nothing is said here of a mountain, as at Pendle Hill later, or still later, in 1657, at Cader Idris near Dolgelly ("Dalgelthly"). Here he says that from the hillside he could see "a great way."[6] Obviously such

---

[3] *Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers* (original manuscript), 110F. Fox himself went to Holland first the following year, but knew these names by correspondence.

[4] These passages were apparently overlooked by William I. Hull in his study of Dutch Quakerism and indeed by all historians and biographers of Fox. I have called attention to the passage in Epistle No. 337 in the BULLETIN OF FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, XXVIII (1939), p. 39; and in W. C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism* (second edition, Cambridge, England, 1955), p. 576.

[5] Richardson MSS, Haverford College Library, pp. 153-161; in the typescript copy, pp. 401f. Cf. Fox's *Journal,* 1952 edition, p. 29 (1648), etc., for parallels.

[6] *Cambridge Journal,* I, 281.

prophetic visions are more natural on an eminence, and sounding the day of the Lord on a mountain has precedent in the Bible.[7]

The written record of the vision of 1652 is somewhat more complicated. The Spence MSS mention Pendle Hill as the place without clearly distinguishing a further vision as from the inn to which he retired. At least Fox leaves it uncertain whether "that place" where "the Lord opened to me and let me see a great people in white raiment by a riverside coming to the Lord" was the inn or the hill, and whether "the place near John Blaykling's where Richard Robinson lived" was (in spite of geography) the hill or the inn, or whether it was the scene of the prospective conversions. Ellwood explicitly says "the place that I saw them in was Wenzerdale [Wensleydale] and Sedbergh" and he has the support of the later passage in the Spence MSS where Fox refers to convincing a meeting of Separatists at Justice Benson's near Sedbergh: "and this was the place that I had seen a people coming forth in white raiment." Ellwood does not say "there atop of the hill I was moved to sound the day of the Lord."

The Short Journal, written earlier, mentions no hill or any place names, though after mentioning Yorkshire it says: "I was moved to go into the north." It places the vision "at an *ale house* where I stayed all night and the Lord opened to me that he had a great people *in the north* which I saw by a river *that parted two counties,* how they came forth in *shining,* white raiment."

William Penn, in his preface to the Ellwood edition, seems to know both the Spence MSS and the Short Journal and somewhat to syncopate them as well as to expand them. He does not name the mountain but he places it, unlike Pendle Hill, in Yorkshire. Like the Spence MSS, he uses the phrase "sound the day of the Lord." Like the Short Journal, he indicates that the direction of the

---

[7] Another visionary prophet, Arise Evans, writing in 1652, tells of having gone up a hill on a Whitsunday morning to see the sun rise at precisely the same eminence of Cader Idris, at least if his Welsh names are correctly understood so: ". . . up a hill at a place called Gole Ronnw to see the sun rise . . . in Maisellan Kadder Ruse." *An Echo to the Book Called a Voice from Heaven* (1653), p. 6. Cf. p. 73: "it is the highest hill in Britain, yea, I dare say (if it were possible to measure the height of hills) it is the highest in all the world."

vision was northward. I do not see any evidence of the influence of Ellwood's editing on this preface by Penn. It reads as follows:

> In 1652, he being in his usual retirement to the Lord upon a very high mountain, in some of the hither parts of Yorkshire, as I take it, his mind exercised towards the Lord, he had a vision of the great work of God in the earth, and of the way he was to go forth to begin it. He saw people as thick as motes in the sun, that should in time be brought home to the Lord; that there might be but one shepherd and one sheepfold in all the earth. There his eye was directed northward, beholding a great people that should receive him and his message in those parts. Upon this mountain he was moved of the Lord to sound out his great and notable day; as if he had been in a great auditory, and from thence went north, as the Lord had shown him.

Our curiosity naturally would like to penetrate beneath these statements, and especially to discover the psychology behind them. Fox's experience already as a successful messenger to seeking people made him susceptible to intimations of people to be gathered whom he had not yet met. The white raiment is suggestive of the redeemed of the future, perhaps, as those in white in Revelation 7, peoples of other nations. Fox was not the first or the last prophet to have visions of needs beyond the sea. It has been suggested that actual contact with a Macedonian precipitated Paul's vision at Troas (Acts 16) of a man of Macedonia saying "Come over into Macedonia and help us." William Penn recalls, some twenty years later, that in 1661 while at Oxford, aged about sixteen, he had an opening of joy as to the American parts.[8] There were doubtless occasional visitors from America in Oxford then, and people from Holland were met often in eastern England, even as far north as Yorkshire. Yet it is not necessary to presuppose such suggestion.

The important fact in the item we have tried to recover from long oblivion is that the horizon of Fox's vision was so early beyond the seas. This gives some support to the suggestion made, I think somewhat playfully, by Frederick Tolles[9] that the vision on Pendle Hill was also a vision of people to be gathered beyond seas. In the complicated record of that event certainty cannot be found,

---

[8] Letter to Robert Turner and others, 12 April 1681.

[9] *The Atlantic Community of the Early Friends,* Supplement no. 24 to the *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* (London, 1952), p. 13.

and the suggestion that Fox was thinking of both future converts at Sedbergh and its neighborhood as Ellwood says, or in the north as Penn thought, and also more distant converts beyond the Lancashire sea, is not impossible. The simple account of 1651 perhaps suggests future conversions both in Cleveland of Yorkshire[10] and in Holland of Europe. The 1657 record says that Fox often set his face different ways, and sounded the day of the Lord and correctly forecast unlikely places where Quakerism would arise.

That some of Fox's prescience was quite proximate both in time and in place is certain. He received day-by-day guidance. This aspect has been lately emphasized by Joseph T. Pickvance, and what he calls the "particularity" of Fox's vision cannot be denied.[11] But surely some of it was more distant and more general.

We cannot too strongly emphasize that Quakerism, more than any other Protestant movement before the nineteenth century, had a missionary outreach in thought and very early showed itself in remarkably widespread travel. Fox himself was very conscious of its representative extension, as is shown by his somewhat boastful and grandiose reports of the extent of Quakerism.[12] But Fox had his evidence, and in the same retrospective period at which he twice referred to his own vision of 1651 of a people to be gathered in Holland, he was calendaring the documents which formed the basis of a summary of Friends who traveled overseas each year.[13] As has been said, it was a time of far-ranging vision for him.

---

[10] I think the sequel shows that Fox's vision was of the past history of the people at Cleveland quite as much as their future, though he records in the end their conversion into a stable Friends Meeting. He says that three days later, he "passed to Cleveland amongst those people that had tasted of the power of God but was all scattered to pieces, and the heads of them turned ranters."

[11] "George Fox's Hills of Vision," *Friends Quarterly,* VI (1952), 152-160. I cannot, however, accept his interpretation of "sounding the day of the Lord" (p. 154), an interpretation reappearing in the notes to J. L. Nickalls' edition of the Journal (1952), pp. 104, 302.

[12] Swarthmore MSS, VII 111, August 1661, quoted in W. C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism* (London, 1919), pp. 216f. Cf. the Skipton Epistle of the year before, quoted in *The Beginnings of Quakerism,* p. 337.

[13] *Cambridge Journal,* II, 321-338. These annals are not all from memory, but are based on the Swarthmore MSS, especially on those re-

JOHN BARTRAM: GEOLOGIST

By FRANCIS D. WEST*

While John Bartram is usually spoken of as the first American botanist (even though there were botanical gardens in the colonies prior to the one he founded at Kingsessing), it is doubtful that he has ever been credited with being the first American-born geologist; nor has it been recognized that he proposed certain geological theories and projects usually associated with other and later scientists.

Yet contemporaries were aware of his skill and knowledge in this field. Dr. Alexander Garden of Charleston, South Carolina, in a letter to Dr. James Parsons, expressed his admiration for Bartram's understanding of mineralogy: "It is a great pity," he wrote, "he does not understand Mr. Loefling's 'Dissertation on Gems' (written in Latin) for I am persuaded that he is amongst the best qualified men to improve that part of the science. How often have I been pleased, delighted and instructed by many of his lively and strong natural thoughts on gems as to their structure and properties."[1]

Bartram himself was modest in expressing his observations and theories on geological subjects and did so hesitantly and with an apology. In a letter to Peter Collinson, to whom he sent most of his "observations," he wrote on April 27, 1755: "I am glad my friend Dr. Fothergill hath ye perusal of my notions of ye ante-

---

cording individual expenses paid from the Kendal Fund for the service of Truth. By this time Fox's vision of future work to be done could be reinforced by rumors or news from places beyond those already reached, as when he wrote to William Ames, "Thou hast a fine circuit in Holland and Germany and under the Prince of Palatine's government, etc.: and there is a seed in Poland that desires Friends" (*Epistles,* No. 193 corrected, 1660); or when he mentioned to Caton and Ames "a seed of God which is to be gathered in Russia, Muscovia, Poland, Hungaria and Swedeland" (Caton to Fox, 25 January 1661, Swarthmore MSS, IV, 273, printed in W. I. Hull, *The Rise of Quakerism in Amsterdam,* (1938), p. 143; cf. *Beginnings of Quakerism,* p. 415).

* Francis D. West, who died on March 19, 1958, was a direct descendant of John Bartram and the author of many articles on this early American scientist.

[1] Undated letter in the British Museum.

deluvian impressions of marine shels in our rocks or any other rambling observations. I hope if I can stand ye test with his trial I shall come out like gold well purified. I had rather undergo now a thorow purging, a long fusion than to have any dross left behind."[2]

In his "Journey to the Catskill Mountains" Bartram advanced the theory that streams eroded their own valleys instead of finding them already made.[3] It should be noted that this manuscript was written in 1753. Nicholas Desmarest is usually credited with this theory as of 1775, although his paper on the subject was not published until 1806.

Peter Kalm in his *Travels in North America* cited in detail nine reasons given by John Bartram in support of the theory that "the greatest part of this country . . . had formerly been under water." Kalm also called attention to Bartram's observation that the shells found in a petrified state in the Northern Mountains were of a different character from those found on the seashore in the same latitude, from which Bartram had concluded that the earth had once been "in a different position towards the sun."[4] Benjamin Franklin's query to James Bowdoin in 1788: "Is not the finding of great quantities of shells and bones of animals (natural to hot climates) in the cold ones of our present world some proof that its poles have been changed?" has been thought worthy of notice.[5] But Kalm quotes Bartram as having made this very suggestion in 1748.

Probably Bartram's most significant observation in this field is one which may be interpreted as proposing a "geological survey." It occurs in a letter written to Alexander Garden on March 14, 1756 and indicates that he formed a pretty good notion of the nature and importance of a geological survey and map more

---

[2] Bartram Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, I, 35.

[3] "Journey to the Catskills with Billy, 1753," Bartram Papers, I, 35.

[4] *Peter Kalm's Travels in North America,* ed. Adolph B. Benson (New York, 1937), I, 71-73.

[5] George P. Merrill, "Contributions to the History of American Geology," *Annual Report . . . of the Smithsonian Institution,* 1904 (Washington, 1906), pp. 211-212. Franklin's letter to Bowdoin is printed with the correct date 1788 in *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin,* ed. A. H. Smyth (New York, 1907), IX, 652-655.

than a century before such an undertaking was attempted or even conceived by those whose province it was to authorize them. The letter is as follows:

I have often thought of proposing a scheme which I am apt to believe would be of general benefit to most of our colonies if put into practice and as a particular curious friend I first acquaint thee with it, and perhaps I may mention it to my friend Peter Collinson.

It is to bore ye ground to great depths in as different soils in ye several provinces with an instrument fit for ye purpose about four inches in diameter; ye benefit which I shall propose from these trials is to search for marls or rich earths to manure ye surface of poor ground withall [;] 2ndly to search for all kinds of medistinal earths sulphurs bitumens coal peat salts vitrols marckasites flints as well as minerals[;] 3dly to find ye various kinds of springs to know whether thay are potable or medicinal or mechanical; now to bring this into practice suppose thair was appointed in every province a curious Judicious honest careful man as overseer[,] that he should chuse such men as understood boring in rocks and earth & furnish them with proper instruments[,] that he or any whom he may depute under him shall take particular care to write down in a book for that purpose ye time & place, when & where they began to bore & ye particular depth of every stratum thay bore through examining curiously ye contents of ye bit every time ye auger is drawn up & ye depth from whence it was drawn[,] minute it down so that thay may know ye exact depth whether it be marl chalk coal salt or any other mineral or if springs of water how deep thay are from ye surface so that every proprietor may know what riches are in his possession & may guess what expence he must be at to come to ye benefit of them. I am pursuaded that most sandy desert soil hath under it a large bed of marl or saline earth which if brought on ye sandy surface would make ye surface fruitful & most countries far from ye sea have vast beds of rock salt at uncertain depths which if thay were discovered would be of great advantage to ye inhabitants.

Moreover how exceedingly useful & satisfactory will it be to curious philosophical inquirers to know ye various terrestial compositions that we daily walk over[.] by this method we may compose a curious subterrenian map.[6]

A copy of Bartram's scheme was sent by the writer to the Director of the United States Geological Survey, who replied: "We were not familiar with Bartram's letter of 1756 and were all impressed by his proposals for what amounted to provincial geological surveys that were to be based upon widespread exploratory drilling programs."[7] What appears to be the earliest geological

[6] Bartram Papers, I, 44.

[7] Personal letter from Thomas B. Nolan to the writer.

survey was a map of the Paris Basin made some years later by a French scientist, Jean E. Guettard (1715-1786).

John Bartram's scheme of 1756 anticipated by many years the founding of a geological survey in this country and, for that matter, antedated the actual teaching of geology. The first instruction in geology was given at Yale by Benjamin Silliman in 1802; the first geological map of the country was that of William Maclure, issued in 1809; and the first state surveys—those of the two Carolinas—were organized in 1824. In view of the data presented here, some two hundred years after John Bartram expounded his theories of geology, one feels entitled to make the claim that he was the "first American-born geologist."

TO OHIO ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO: EXCERPTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF THOMAS ELKINTON

Selected by J. PASSMORE ELKINTON*

In September 1856 Joseph S. Elkinton (1830-1905) of Philadelphia, a member of Arch Street Yearly Meeting, and Malinda Patterson (1836-1920) of Ohio Yearly Meeting (Conservative) were married at the bride's home meeting at Somerton, near Barnesville, Ohio. The groom's brother, Thomas, kept a journal of the family expedition from Philadelphia to the wedding, from which the following excerpts are taken.[1] Traveling was different in those days!

On Sixth Day, Eighth Month 22nd, 1856, having "bade farewell for a season to calculations and surveying in general," the writer "proceeded with locking, strapping and roping trunks—there being baggage enough for a voyage to Europe. . . . Having received the honorable post of baggage master," he continues, "I took leave soon after dinner and loaded up the wagon with baggage [and] checked it to Wheeling. At 1:00 o'clock we started

* J. Passmore Elkinton of Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, is a great-nephew of the writer of this journal. The footnotes have been supplied by the Editor of the BULLETIN.

[1] The original of this journal now belongs to Thomas W. Elkinton of Moorestown, New Jersey.

[by train] and, passing over the intervening part of the city, crossed the city, crossed the Schuylkill, and stood boldly down for Baltimore. . . .

"Arrived at the Susquehanna, in obedience to the exhortation of an urchin who shouted in at the window, 'Passengers now take the boat,' we gathered up big bag, little bag and satchel and bonnet box, hat box and bundle, and passed on to a boat—of unusual construction for ferry purposes, being very long and the upper deck upheld by numerous massive pillars in order to sustain the baggage cars upon it. Landing safely upon the western side, we were soon seated again in railroad cars. . . . Whilst riding along, about half way between Havre de Grace and Baltimore, the train came to a stand at a place where no station was visible; it appeared that one of the wheels had heated up enough to fire the truck, and the train had stopped for the purpose of extinguishing the flame, which was done by means of buckets of water from the tender; further on, as the truck fired again, a stop was made at a water tank. . . . As we neared the city [Baltimore], the truck became again on fire, but it was allowed to burn, and the train held on its swift-moving course and finally brought up in the depot, through which we were obliged to hurry in great haste and excitement to the street in front, where we entered some horse cars bound for the western depot [of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad]. These cars were crowded, many of us standing and parts of our company being in the other car; yet in due time, after another scene of excitement in obtaining seats in the Wheeling train, we were all again comfortably located, and, drawing a long breath, prepared to see how it fared with the rest of the world.

"As the shades of night closed in upon us while we were sweeping swiftly among the hills and outside prospects became less and less interesting, finally with bonnets tied up to the top and hats disposed for the night and heads arranged for a nap, we endeavored to forget the thoughts of the time and inclined in various positions of repose. But alas, nodding was all that was accomplished by most, as the inconsiderate motions of the cars frequently threw us out of our positions and proprieties just at the critical moment, causing us to complement the load in a manner other than flattering. We managed to spend the forepart of the night and were becoming accustomed to the jolts when a man came

through the train and coolly aroused us, remarking that we would have to change cars, as a landslide had occurred a mile or so ahead. Soon the train stopped, and, gathering bags and bundles again, we left the car for a midnight walk on top the mountain over the rocks and around the slide. . . . George [Scattergood] and I started out upon an exploring expedition, and found numbers of Irishmen busily engaged carrying baggage, part in carts and part on backs, from train to train. . . . [On the relief train] it was my fortune to have a whole seat to myself. I rigged up a comfortable couch, whereupon I was able to enjoy a substantial rest.

"At Fairmount we stopped for breakfast, a little place on the Monongahela, which is here crossed by a wire bridge similar to the one over the Schuylkill. . . . Ascending a long series of steps, we reached the dining room of the hotel. . . . [After breakfast,] resuming our seats, we were soon again in motion. We passed through several tunnels—ventilated by numerous fires, by whose flickering light we could see the faces of the attendants. Emerging at length from the region of ravines and hills, we struck the Ohio, boasted river of the west, and held our way up its eastern bank. The water was at a low stage, only about 15 inches in the channel, shallow enough for a dog to wade across. At Benwood we walked down a long series of steps to the boat in which we were conveyed across to Ohio, and after an exciting scene with the baggage, were seated in the train bound for Barnesville, distant 27 miles."

Then follow intimate details of all the visiting from household to household among friends and relatives-to-be, first at Barnesville, then at Somerton. On the 25th there was a Select Preparative Meeting at 9:00 A.M., followed by a Monthly Meeting at which all the Queries were answered. Then the groom, his father, and his father-in-law-to-be went into the women's business meeting, where the couple rose and announced that they "continued their intentions of marriage with each other." The men visitors returned to the men's meeting; the bride, her mother, and mother-in-law-to-be entered the men's meeting, and the young couple repeated their statement. The consent of the meetings having been given, Overseers were appointed for the wedding.

There was gaiety as well. "Upon our return," writes Thomas Elkinton, "we found the girls practicing in horseladyship in the field beyond the barn and learned that one had navigated up to the

barn door and afterwards down to the spring to the great accommodation of the fancy of the horse. Samuel Walton [father of the late Francis and Anna Walton of Philadelphia] was actively engaged flying at the horse's head around the field, rendering gallant service in giving riding lessons. . . . [On the 26th] after breakfast I gathered up about 6 razors and proceeded to reduce them to an edge; then as young women were collected in the dining room, I located among them for the morning, respectfully declining an invitation to take a walk, as enough of that kind of amusement was to be had at home."

On the 27th, there came a Quarterly Meeting with dinner at Benjamin Hoyle's,[2] "whose table was filled by members, after the manner of tables near the Quarterly Meetings of Pennsylvania. Whilst the first table were eating, G. and I were nicely entertained by H. Hoyle with specimens of minerals and flowers she had collected."

On the 28th, after some shopping and more visiting, the young Friends took a walk. "After sitting upon a log, a return was enlivened by the diverting exercises of the girls in their gymnastics over the fences. The descent of a steep and stony hill also afforded some amusing scenes, as the ruggedness of the path required some skill. One young woman was seen with her hands upon someone's shoulders, pausing in the middle of the hill, pondering how to proceed, and all so convulsed with laughter as scarcely to be able to move." Two days later, there was "a washing party for the girls, the men visitors examining the threshing." Later, "the men strolled out for canes in the woods" and visited a nearby coal mine or bank, as it was called locally, walking "through a wood of primitive timber, where the mighty trees of many a year were still standing unscathed by the woodman's axe."

On First Day, the 31st, the company attended meeting, and, after dinner, took another walk through the woods, from which they were "haled back by the host because more visitors from

[2] Benjamin Hoyle was for many years Clerk of Ohio Yearly Meeting (Orthodox). After the Separation of 1854 he was Clerk of the Conservative or Wilburite Yearly Meeting, which was called, after him, the "Hoyle Yearly Meeting" in contradistinction to the "Binns Yearly Meeting," the Gurneyite body, of which Jonathan Binns was Clerk.

Philadelphia had arrived." Next morning, after breakfast, there was "a grand paring of apples," after which the three young men "resorted to cutting firewood—an extensive pile." At the post office the writer of the journal found a few newspapers, which, he says, "were joyfully greeted, as I had experienced an almost total dearth in the news since leaving home and was not posted upon Kansas concerns, the Army Bill, and the prospect of disunion."[3] On Ninth Month 3rd, the day before the wedding, he noted the "progress of the cakes, which prospered finely under the manipulations of the women. . . . By evening a vast amount of pies and cakes were spread upon the shelves in the cellar, which for ample defense against loving pilferers was doubly secured." In the evening, "the young folks took a starlight walk."

Fourth Day, the 3rd of Ninth Month, was the wedding day. The weather was fine. "Everything being in readiness, at the proper time the last carriages drove off, conveying the Bride and Groom and the waiters, and soon brought up at the meeting house. Waiting a few moments upon the piazza for the parents to be seated, we went in upon the women's side of the house and sat down in Ohio fashion; that is, with the women waiters at one side of the bench and the men the other. The meeting settled quietly at length, after some benches had been brought in to accommodate the strangers who came in numbers to witness the ceremony, quite filling the house. After a while, Joseph Edgerton arose and delivered a communication of considerable length, addressed to the 'friends and friendly neighbors,' that all might be concerned to turn to the light within, which would be sufficient to lead them and guide them in the true path, and also he made some remarks for the young in life particularly."

"At a suitable time, Joseph and Malinda arose and declared their promises of faithfulness to each other." The certificate was then signed and read. Joseph Edgerton spoke again of the Savior's presence at the Biblical marriage feast, and meeting broke. "The

[3] In the wake of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, a civil war between pro- and anti-slavery settlers in Kansas broke out in the spring of 1856. On August 31, a large body of pro-slavery men had attacked and pillaged the village of Osawatomie, which was defended by John Brown and a small force of anti-slavery fighters. It is doubtful, however, whether news of this event had yet reached the newspapers which Thomas Elkinton saw.

wedding company drove off, and all gathered in the house of entertainment for dinner and the afternoon." When dinner was announced, "the first table filed out, the Bride and Groom taking the head of the table and each man sitting opposite his partner." Two more tables were served—"about 60 in all." "When the dishes had been cleared off, one of the tables was carried into the parlor, and the signing of the certificate commenced." By supper time, many had left, "leaving a few of us to wash up the dishes, of which there was a goodly pile, as to our sorrow the good women of color had left us at dark."

In the evening some of the neighbors serenaded the departing bride with a "shivaree," which got a little out of hand. As some of the visitors were returning from a walk, writes Thomas Elkinton, "our ears were regaled with the musical strains produced at the house by numerous dinner horns and frying pans, a drum, and other harmonious instruments. As we neared the house, all began to talk brave and endeavor to feel braver, as it was uncertain whether we should be molested or not. Upon arriving at the house, we found all the music folk gravely marching out of the gate with Tilman Patterson [the bride's father] behind them. It seemed that upon their becoming outlandish, he had gone out and, approaching the drummer, asked him to let him beat it a little, which was agreed to, and the drum was passed over to Tilman, who took it, put the strap over his shoulder, beat a few strokes, and was proceeding into the house with his trophy when the drummer, becoming uneasy, said it was borrowed and must go home that night. 'Twas finally agreed to take it away if returned, and of course the drum was returned.

"Upon depositing the girls in the house, all the men, eight in number, walked out and ranged along the fence, presenting quite an array. A brief address from the Groom then followed, the effect of which, combined with other circumstances, was such that they traveled down the road. They were mostly young men and no doubt thought themselves entitled to enjoyment as well as any others; one of them was grotesquely dressed with his hat squeezed up in a droll fashion, his pantaloons stuck in his boots, and . . . presented some resemblance to the pictures of a clown. As they receded from us, the strains of their evening music grew weaker and weaker and we saw their faces no more. Being somewhat

tired, we soon repaired to our beds and thus ended the scenes of the wedding day."

Fifth Day was farewell day; the trunks were packed and all the baggage loaded onto a wagon. "We were then seated in the parlor and, being gathered into silence, remained some time with feelings bowed with the solemnity and circumstances of the occasion. Father [Joseph Elkinton (1794-1868)], broke the silence with a few remarks to the effect that we might all be concerned more and more to look unto the Great Head of the Church for guidance and direction in all our actions—that it was sometimes His will that His servants should be stripped—but if He were faithfully followed, all would be well in the end. When he ceased, Rachel Patterson [the bride's mother] spoke a few words to the end that the dear young people might be concerned now in the morning of their days to dedicate themselves to the service of their Heavenly Father, who would preserve them in all their temptations and afflictions."

Starting home, the party crossed the Ohio by covered flatboat, "which had been substituted for the steamboat, owing to the lowness of the water," and some of the group went directly east via the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The others went to Wheeling by stage for a visit to the old Mount Pleasant meetinghouse, "which had been the scene of many a troublous time. [They] noticed the gallery, where a man broke a pine board at the time of the Hicksite separation.[4] Alas!" commented the writer, "that such scenes should be enacted in a meeting house of Friends." Unexpectedly, the bride and groom turned up at Mount Pleasant. The next day, in the morning, they returned to Mt. Pleasant for meeting. "It seems the house serves 3 assemblies on first days: the Binney folk[5] meeting at 8, the Friends at 10, and the Hicksites at 11—rather a sad picture for the world. The meeting was quiet most of the time, until Amos Peasley commenced speaking upon the other side

[4] On Ninth Month 8, 1828, in a session of Ohio Yearly Meeting someone in the overhead gallery—accounts differ as to whether he was a Hicksite sympathizer or a non-member—broke a board, raising an alarm that the gallery was falling and causing an unQuakerly pandemonium in the meetinghouse.

[5] Gurneyite Friends.

of the partition, but as our meeting soon closed, we did not hear much that was said."[6]

Setting off for the train, early next morning, in a hack over a plank road, the party whiled away the time by reciting poetry and munching apples. About an hour before their train was due at the station, "the fore part of our hack, whose spokes had been wriggling all day, gave way and let the corner of the wagon down all safe and substantially fixed in the road," three miles from the station. The baggage was hastily pulled off the other wagon, the girls climbed into it, and headed for the station. A small board wagon appeared just in time to carry the baggage, and one of the young men started walking. The baggage wagon and the walker barely arrived at the station before the train pulled out. Safely on board, they listened to the young ladies' story of their wild ride down the long hill into town "in genuine Jehu style," the bride sometimes driving and then the groom's sister: "Ruts and gullies, over one gully they surged and immediately heard a loud crack as if all were over with the wagon." The return trip was by way of Cleveland and Buffalo, with a deliberate stop at Niagara Falls.

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS ON QUAKER HISTORY AVAILABLE AT SWARTHMORE AND HAVERFORD

Compiled by FREDERICK B. TOLLES AND ANNA B. HEWITT

Research in Quaker history and thought has been flourishing in recent years, as our periodic reports on "Quaker Research in Progress" bear witness. The results of much of this research have appeared in print in books and articles, which we have tried to notice, as they have appeared, in our Book Reviews and Briefer Notices. But some of the most valuable, because most intensive

[6] Amos Peaslee, a Hicksite Friend of Philadelphia, had come to Mount Pleasant to attend the Hicksite Yearly Meeting, which opened the following day. In his unpublished journal (microfilm at Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College) he refers to this particular meeting for worship (held on the other side of the partition in the huge Mount Pleasant meetinghouse) as follows: "First Day. The meeting was large and in the fresh extendings of divine love the truth of the Gospel was largely opened, and the meeting ended well."

and thorough, research has gone into the preparation of doctoral dissertations which, once they have served the author's immediate purpose of establishing a claim to a Doctor's degree, have often been filed away in some inaccessible corner of a university library and forgotten.

Some universities now require that theses be microfilmed, thus making copies available at a reasonable price to interested individuals and libraries. The Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College and the Quaker Collection of the Haverford College Library have made a somewhat systematic effort to acquire microfilm copies of theses in the Quaker field. In a few instances, through the courtesy of the author, typescript copies have been obtained. They are listed here in order to make them better known. These copies are available to be read in the libraries which possess them and can be borrowed on interlibrary loan.

In the following list, titles followed by the symbol *S* are in the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College; those followed by the letter *H* are in the Quaker Collection of the Haverford College Library. Both libraries would be glad to know of other graduate theses on Quaker subjects of which copies might be obtained. The symbol *UM* indicates that copies can be ordered from University Microfilms, 313 North First Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Alsobrook, William Aubrey, The Mysticism of Rufus M. Jones (Drew Theological Seminary, 1954). Microfilm. *H.*

Babbidge, Homer D., Jr., Swarthmore College in the Nineteenth Century—A Quaker Experiment in Education (Yale, 1953). Typescript. *S.*

Barbour, Hugh S., The Early Quaker Outlook upon "the World" and Society, 1647-1662 (Yale, 1952). Microfilm. *S.*

Bell, Whitfield J., Jr., Science and Humanity in Philadelphia, 1775-1790 (University of Pennsylvania, 1947). Microfilm. (UM) *H.*

Byrd, Robert Oakes, Quaker Ways in Foreign Policy (Chicago, 1955). Microfilm. *S.*

Cole, Alan, The Quakers and Politics, 1652-1660 (Cambridge, 1955). Typescript. *S.*

Cooper, Wilmer A., Rufus M. Jones and the Contemporary Quaker View of Man (Vanderbilt University, 1956). Microfilm. (UM) H.

Creasey, Maurice A., Early Quaker Christology with Special Reference to the Teaching and Significance of Isaac Penington, 1616-1679 (University of Leeds, 1956). Microfilm. *H, S.*

Dwyer, Eddie L., The Principle of Authority in the Theology of Rufus Jones (Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1951). Microfilm. *H.*

Ernest, Joseph M., Jr., Whittier and the American Writers (University of Tennessee, 1952). Typescript. *S.*

Hadley, Wendell Emmett, Higher Education under Control of the Society of Friends, with Special Emphasis on Quaker Colleges of the North Central Association (University of Minnesota, 1955). Microfilm. (UM) *S.*

Hayes, George Passmore, Robert Barclay: His Life, Works, and Position in the History of Quaker Thought (Harvard, 1927). Typescript. *S.*

Hertz, Karl Herbert, Bible Commonwealth and Holy Experiment (Chicago, 1948). Microfilm. *S.*

Holmes, James Welfred, Whittier's Prose on Reforms other than Abolition (University of Pittsburgh, 1945). Typescript. *S.*

Johnson, George Arthur, From Seeker to Finder: a Study in Seventeenth Century English Spiritualism before the Quakers (Chicago, 1948). Microfilm. *S.*

Johnson, Joseph Esrey, A Statesman of Colonial Pennsylvania: a Study of the Private Life and Public Career of James Logan to the Year 1726 (Harvard, 1942). Microfilm. *S.*

Jones, Thomas Canby, George Fox's Teaching on Redemption and Salvation (Yale, 1955). Typescript. *H.*

Kimber, Thomas, The Treatment of the Quaker as a Character in American Fiction, 1825-1925 (University of Southern California, 1953). Microfilm. *H.*

Larsen, Grace Hutchinson, Profile of a Colonial Merchant: Thomas Clifford of Pre-Revolutionary Philadelphia (Columbia, 1955). Microfilm. (UM) *S.*

Lokken, Roy Norman, David Lloyd of Pennsylvania 1686-1731: Advocate of Legislative Supremacy (University of Washington, 1955). Microfilm. (UM) *S.*

Mekeel, Arthur Jacob. The Quakers in the American Revolution. (Harvard, 1939). Typescript. *H.* (Not available for interlibrary loan).

Pannell, Anne Gary, The Political and Economic Relations of English and American Quakers, 1750-1785. (St. Hughs College, Oxford, 1935). Typescript. *H.*

Parsons, William T., Isaac Norris II, the Speaker (University of Pennsylvania, 1955). Microfilm. (UM) *S.*

Roberts, Arthur Owen, George Fox's Concept of the Church (Boston University, 1954). Microfilm. *S. H.*

Shideler, Emerson, An Experiment in Spiritual Ecclesiology, the Quaker Concept of the Church (Chicago, 1948). Microfilm. *S.*

Stibitz, Edward Earle, The Treatment of Quakerism in American Historical and Literary Writing (Michigan, 1951). Microfilm. (UM) *S. H.*

Thompson, Mack Eugene, Moses Brown, Man of Public Responsibility (Brown, 1955). Microfilm. (UM) *S.*

Toms, DeElla Victoria, The Intellectual and Literary Background of Francis Daniel Pastorius (Northwestern, 1953). Microfilm. (UM) *S.*

Wahl, Albert John, The Congregational or Progressive Friends in the Pre-Civil-War Reform Movement (Temple University, 1951). Typescript. *S.*

Witte, William Darwin Swanson, Quaker Pacifism in the United States, 1919-1942, with Special Reference to its Relation to Isolationism and Internationalism (Columbia, 1954). Microfilm. (UM) *S.*

Quaker Research in Progress

The following list of current or recent studies in Quaker history continues the series of such notices appearing from time to time in the BULLETIN. Information concerning other Quaker studies in progress but not published should be sent to Henry J. Cadbury, Chairman of the Committee on Historical Research, 774 Millbrook Lane, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

Ruth I. Aldrich, 4607 North Murray Avenue, Milwaukee 11, Wisconsin. The Life, Works, and Literary Friendships of Charles Lloyd. (A member of the well-known Quaker family of Birmingham, Lloyd was a poet and the friend of many literary men.) University of Wisconsin: English, thesis for Ph.D. degree.

Alfred F. Andersen, Tanguy Homesteads, Glen Mills, Pennsylvania. Implications for Philosophy of Education in the Concept of the Inner Light. University of Pennsylvania: Education, thesis for Ph.D. degree.

Tsuyoshi Amemiya, 1-226, Nozawa, Setagaya, Tokyo, Japan. Whittier's Humanity. 1956.

Crosby Forbes, 38 Arlington Street, Cambridge 40, Massachusetts. English Dissenting Thought and Action, 1660-1740. (The contribution of lay and religious leaders of Dissent to the intellectual and party history of the period.)

Willard C. Heiss and Ray Brumfield, 4020 East 34th Street, Indianapolis 18, Indiana. History of Jericho Meeting, Randolph County, Indiana.

John Hepler, Central Michigan College, Mount Pleasant, Michigan. Whittier Correspondence. (Based on 600 letters by and to Whittier.)

Mary Maples, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania. William Penn, Political Thought and Career. Bryn Mawr College: History, thesis for Ph.D. degree.

T. Robert Moseley, Nyack Missionary College, Nyack, New York. The New York Manumission Society, 1785-1849. New York University: History, thesis for Ph.D. degree.

James A. Vendettuoli, Jr., 82 Keene Street, Providence 6, Rhode Island. The English Seekers: John Jackson, Spokesman. (A fresh examination of the Seeker mind and attitude, with John Jackson as the seminal thinker and representative figure.) Harvard University: Church History, thesis for Ph.D. degree, 1958.

Historical News

Friends Historical Association

The Annual Meeting of the Association was held on Eleventh Month 25, 1957. Since the date of the meeting fell within a few weeks of the 150th anniversary of John Greenleaf Whittier's birth, it seemed appropriate to use this occasion to commemorate the Quaker poet. The meeting was held in the Twelfth Street Meetinghouse, Philadelphia, where Whittier was accustomed to worship when he was in Philadelphia. Vice-President Richmond P. Miller, who was in the chair, read a cable of greetings from the President, Thomas E. Drake, who was in Europe. After a brief business meeting, E. Sculley Bradley, Professor of English at the University of Pennsylvania, spoke on "Whittier—Poet of Purpose," and J. Welfred Holmes, Professor of English, Morgan State College, Baltimore, spoke on "Whittier as a Social Reformer."

The third speaker was to have been C. Marshall Taylor of New York. The meeting, informed of his untimely death on Eleventh Month 11, adopted the following memorial minute:

Seven years ago at our Annual Meeting, C. Marshall Taylor appeared before us in the role of "Mr. Whittier." For many Friends here and abroad who did not have the privilege of knowing him personally, Marshall Taylor *was* "Mr. Whittier." His unrivaled collection of Whittierana, his many articles in our BULLETIN and elsewhere, his unfailing generosity and helpfulness to Whittier scholars, and above all his irrepressible enthusiasm for the Quaker poet make it almost inevitable that we so remember him. But it is right that we should also recall his other contributions to the life of the Association. He became a member in 1941. In 1945 he was elected to the Board of Directors and from 1953 to 1957 he served as one of our Vice-Presidents. Though he lived at a distance from Philadelphia, he seldom missed a meeting either of the Association or of its Board, and he reminded us often that we are a national and not merely a local historical association of Friends. In his service on the Membership Committee he set an example to all of us by his diligence in recruiting new members. Yet his own interest in the Society of Friends was never merely antiquarian: he was concerned throughout his life for the advancement of vital Quakerism as a liberal, non-creedal religious faith. With sorrow we record his passing on Eleventh Month 11, 1957, but we

remember with gratitude his contributions to this Association, especially as we honor tonight the memory of John Greenleaf Whittier, who represented to him the noblest and best in the Quaker tradition.

* * *

The following members were elected at the Annual Meeting to serve on the Board of Directors until Eleventh Month 1960: Richmond P. Miller, Frederick B. Tolles, John F. Rich, Katharine W. Elkinton.

* * *

The Index to Volumes XLI-XLV (1952-1956) of the BULLETIN, prepared by Lyman W. Riley, is now ready, and copies may be obtained free of charge by writing to the Assistant Editor, Haverford College Library, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

From Quaker Libraries

The late C. Marshall Taylor left to the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College the balance of his Whittier Collection, portions of which he had already transferred to the Library before his death. This collection, which incorporates the great collection formed by Carroll A. Wilson (see Wilson, *Thirteen Author Collections of the Nineteenth Century,* ed. Jean S. C. Wilson and David A. Randall [New York, 1950], II, 707-889), comprises approximately a thousand volumes and nearly six hundred manuscripts. Virtually every edition of Whittier is present, together with many variants and periodical appearances.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

For the fiscal year ended October 31, 1957

Income	
Dues from members	$2,058.00
Dues from libraries and institutions	93.00
Sales of *Bulletin* and royalties	288.06
Sale of advertising space in *Bulletin*	30.00
Investment income	376.13
Gifts	164.50
Total income	$3,009.69
Balance, November 1, 1956	3,425.80
	6,435.49
Expenditures	
Bulletin Printing, Spring and Fall	$1,387.00
Bulletin Editor's Fee	300.00
Meetings, Annual 1956 (special), Spring 1957	471.48
Indexing of *Bulletin*	40.00
Miscellaneous, postage, secretarial, clerical, billing and office expense	297.36
Invitations for Fall 1957 meeting	22.00
Total expenditures	$2,517.84
Balance, October 31, 1957	3,917.65
	6,435.49
Investments, at market value October 31, 1957	$6,310.00

Respectfully submitted, ALLEN M. TERRELL, Treasurer

We have examined the accounts of Allen M. Terrell, Treasurer, as stated in the Annual Report and found them to be correct.

There is a balance of $3,917.65 on deposit on October 31, 1957. The securities in the vault of the Girard Trust Corn Exchange Bank were examined and found complete as listed in his report.

Respectfully submitted, Edward R. Moon, George Vaux,
November 19, 1957 Auditors

Book Reviews

The Welsh Saints 1640-1660. By Geoffrey F. Nuttall. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 1957. x, 93 pages. $2.00

Since the recent revival of Puritan studies, we have had to modify our interpretation of Quaker origins. We now place greater stress on the preparation for Quakerism in Puritan thought and piety than could such earlier historians as William C. Braithwaite and Rufus M. Jones. G. F. Nuttall analyzed much of this preparation most helpfully in his earlier volume on *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience* (1947). Now on a more modest scale in four lectures for the University College of North Wales he has described the spiritual religion of three seventeenth-century Welsh Puritans.

The celebrated Richard Baxter, viewing their work from just over the border in England, regarded Walter Cradock, Vavasor Powell, and Morgan Llwyd as a dangerously Antinomian trio. The influence of these three on one another was great. All lived and worked in the Welsh borderlands, all were left-wing Independents, and Powell and Llwyd were converts of Cradock, who was himself deeply indebted to William Erbury, the mystical and eccentric Puritan. But there were differences too. Cradock was respected throughout the Puritan brotherhood in Wales and England as an accomplished preacher, pastor, and physician of souls. Powell, because of his connections with Fifth-Monarchists and his social radicalism, had a more political reputation. Llwyd remained in Wales and wrote chiefly in Welsh; he was (and has remained) the most obscure of the three. But Dr. Nuttall believes that all deserve to be studied for the light they throw on Welsh church history and Puritan piety and politics. As examples of the spiritual element in Puritan religion, the quotations from Cradock's writings are especially interesting. The author can say of his style (as of Baxter's) that it is "so direct, penetrating, sure, yet so sincerely modest, almost ingenuous, and produces a strange feeling that the man is personally present, at least that he wrote this only yesterday and wrote it to *you*" (p. 19).

Friends will be particularly interested in the final lecture on "The Impact of Quakerism." None of these Welsh saints became "convinced." All opposed Quaker raids on their flocks. Yet the author emphasizes that "what preparation for Quakerism there was in Merioneth had, in fact, been provided, as in Wrexham and Welshpool, despite Powell's hostility, by nothing else than the piety fostered by Llwyd and himself" (p. 67). With such a spiritual awakening taking place, it is not surprising perhaps that George Fox, viewing the land from the height of Cader Idris in company with John ap John in 1657, could feel that "god would raise upp a people to sett under his teachinge."

University of Minnesota (Duluth) J. F. Maclear

Yardley Warner, the Freedman's Friend: His Life and Times with His Journal and Letters Reproduced in an Appendix. By Stafford Allen Warner. Introduction by Janet Whitney. Didcot, England: The Wessex Press. 1957. xvii, 331 pages. 25/-

In her introduction Janet Whitney wrote, "The book itself is an act of filial devotion, being a record of the author's adventures in search of his father, in a spiritual sense." Unfortunately the search was not a success, and the fragmentary evidence that the author located enabled him only to hint at the significance of his father's life and work.

Throughout most of his life Yardley Warner (1815-1885) was an educator. Before the Civil War he taught school at Westtown and in Ohio, and after the war he devoted his life to the education of the freedmen. He founded schools, taught classes, trained teachers, and raised money for the work of freedmen's education. During two trips to England he continued to interest people in the cause of Negro education. At the time of his death he held a teaching post in a small private school for Negroes in Bush Hill, North Carolina.

Perhaps because of a lack of essential documents, the author published much of his source material in the body of the book. These include newspaper clippings, extracts from pamphlets and meeting records, and letters. Additional source material including a portion of Yardley Warner's journal is relegated to seven appendices. Scraps of information provided for the reader would undoubtedly be of value to genealogical researchers interested in finding out more about the Warner family or Yardley Warner's acquaintances. The raw materials are printed in entirety and the work lacks continuity and organization. It is difficult to read as a whole and adds little to our knowledge of nineteenth-century Quakerism or of Negro education.

Grove City, Pennsylvania LARRY GARA

Let Freedom Ring! A Biography of Moses Brown. By Robert Morton Hazelton. Introduction by Rufus M. Jones. New York: New Voices Publishing Company. 1957. xx, 262 pages. $3.95.

There has long been a need for a biography of Moses Brown of Providence, Rhode Island. From the time he became active in business during the French and Indian War until his death over three-quarters of a century later in 1836, he participated directly or indirectly in almost every important event of the colony and state. The record of his long and productive life Brown carefully preserved—a habit he inherited from his uncle and brothers. His remarkable collection of business and personal papers now resides in the libraries of the Rhode Island Historical Society and the Moses Brown School in Providence. From it the energetic biographer has an excellent opportunity to reconstruct the life and times of this interesting man.

Mr. Hazelton has divided his work into two parts. Book I, "Freedom in Truth," deals in a roughly chronological order with certain aspects of

Brown's life, beginning with his conversion to Quakerism when he was already in his mid-thirties and ending with his third marriage at the end of the century. Book II, "Friendship for the Truth," is arranged topically. Themes such as "Harmony," "Humanity," "Disinterestedness," are treated in single chapters; five chapters tell the story of Brown's interest and contributions in the fields of public health, sanitation, and yellow fever epidemics; two chapters are concerned with Brown's development of fire-fighting equipment and his promotion of Jenner's method of smallpox immunization, introduced into this country by Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse; then there is a chapter in which the growing tensions within the Society of Friends that eventually led to the Hicksite separation are discussed; and eight chapters—the remainder of the book—are devoted to the struggle to reopen the New England Yearly Meeting School.

This organization of the book is unfortunate. Brown passed through several phases of development during his long life. Mr. Hazelton's decision to begin with Brown's conversion to Quakerism, when his character and ideas have already been developed, means that, despite frequent references to the events of Brown's formative years, the reader is left with no clear picture of his life before he became a Friend; thus the reason for his withdrawal from politics and business, his rejection of the Baptist faith, and his conversion remain obscure.

Mr. Hazelton's treatment of Brown's years as a Quaker is also uneven. The story of his attempts to prevent a rupture between Great Britain and the American colonies and his success in getting his brother John released from prison in Boston, these events are interesting and fairly well told. And the author correctly gives Moses Brown the credit for being the leader of the antislavery movement in New England rather than Samuel Hopkins, the Congregational minister in Newport. But in several important areas his treatment is inadequate. For example, he misses an opportunity to tell the full story of Brown's relief expedition to Massachusetts in 1775, gives no clear explanation of the failure of the Friends in New England to support the New England Yearly Meeting School in the 1780's, and adds nothing that is not already available in existing accounts to our knowledge of the foundation of the cotton textile industry. Yet the manuscript record of these events is unusually full.

Mr. Hazelton's tone throughout is annoyingly didactic, his documentation is haphazard and fragmentary, and there are occasional misspellings and inconsistencies in capitalization. The claim on the dust jacket that "*Let Freedom Ring!* offers a richly rewarding insight into a man's full life and into a vibrant and vibrating period of our history" is, in the opinion of this reviewer, not fulfilled.

University of California, Riverside, California

Mack E. Thompson

Briefer Notices

By HENRY J. CADBURY

First published in 1902, Albert Cook Myers' *Quaker Arrivals at Philadelphia, 1682-1750: Being a List of Certificates of Removal Received at Philadelphia Monthly Meeting of Friends* has proved over the years to be an invaluable source of information for genealogists and students of colonial immigration. It is now available in print again (Baltimore: Southern Book Company, 1956, 131 pages).

* * *

Selections from the writings of the two most famous early American Quaker botanists have been reprinted in *John and William Bartram's America,* edited by Helen G. Cruikshank and attractively illustrated with black-and-white drawings by Francis Lee Jaques (New York: Devin-Adair, 1957, xxii, 418 pages). The passages are well-chosen; a number of William Bartram's own drawings are reproduced; there is a useful glossary and a full index. It is unfortunate, however, that the book was not equipped with an up-to-date introduction in place of the biographical sketch written by William Jay Youmans in 1896.

* * *

Stanley K. Burgesen writes on "The Quaker School for Negroes," *Nassau County Historical Journal,* XVII (1957), 17-24. This school was established in Guinea, Long Island, in 1817.

* * *

In *The Scottish Genealogist,* IV (1957), 47-49, J. F. Mitchell lists the burials known to have been made from 1811 to 1857 in "The Quaker Burial Ground in Glasgow." Friends had begun to use the burial ground in 1711.

* * *

Opal Thornburg again writes about the Quaker artist she has been studying: "Marcus Mote, Early Ohio Artist, with Notes on Lebanon, Ohio." *Bulletin* of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, XIV (1956), 186-196.

* * *

The early minute book of Perquimans Monthly Meeting, North Carolina, has had a checkered history. W. W. Hinshaw printed its information in three instalments as groups of a few pages came successively to light. Now Dorothy Gilbert Thorne prints new data for the omitted years 1729-1736 in the *North Carolinian,* III (1957), 327-334, from a fragment at Duke University formerly supposed to come from Chuckatuck Meeting.

Leslie Johnston writes on "The Friends' School in Ipswich, 1790-1800," in *The Suffolk Review,* I (1957), 70-76.

* * *

"The Mystery of the Death of William Bartram, Father of John Bartram" is brought to view by Francis D. West *(Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine,* XX [1957], 253-255), but it is not solved, nor is the trouble which developed in connection with his second marriage, for which he was read out of meeting in 1708. He died, perhaps the victim of an Indian massacre in North Carolina, about 1711.

* * *

Roman J. Zorn writes in the *Journal of Negro History,* XLII (1957), 157-176, on "The New England Anti-Slavery Society: Pioneer Abolition Organization." This society was founded in 1832 and by 1835 had become the Massachusetts unit of the American Anti-Slavery Society. It was largely Garrisonian and a vigorous opponent of colonization as well as of slavery. Its first president and agent was Arnold Buffum, a Quaker. Joshua Coffin and later John G. Whittier were active members.

* * *

George S. Snyderman publishes in full in the *Proceedings* of the American Philosophical Society, CI (1957), 565-588, "Halliday Jackson's Journal of a Visit Paid to the Indians of New York (1806)," from the MS in the Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore. Another journal by another Friend, John Philips, of the same visit, was published by the same editor in conjunction with M. H. Deardoff in the *Proceedings,* C (1956), 582-612. The extended and full notes are done in the best manner and are invaluable for this stage of the story of the interest of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in the Seneca Indians of the Cattaraugus area.

* * *

The issue for October 1957 in Vol. XCIII of *Essex Institute Historical Collections* appropriately observes the sesquicentennial of the birth of the Essex County celebrity "John Greenleaf Whittier, 1807-1957." Howard Mumford Jones in "Whittier Reconsidered" (pp. 231-246) regards much of his poetry as sentimental or merely rhymed rhetoric, but finds also much to praise in his simplicity, his honesty, and his "religious verse of the first water." Discriminating but generally favorable is also Philip C. Moon's article (pp. 247-253) "Observations on the Religious Philosophy and Method of Whittier in *Voices of Freedom.*" Finally, a letter from Whittier to Emerson, dated Ninth Month 20, 1845, intended to be used at a local antislavery convention and actually printed a little later in the *Essex Transcript,* is carefully edited by R. H. Woodwell (pp. 254-259), showing his attitude at the time to the competing policies of abolition advocates and his call to concentrate on a party primarily concerned to end slavery.

* * *

Harold B. Hancock and Norman B. Wilkinson are the joint authors

of an article on "The Gilpins and Their Endless Paper-making Machine" in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* LXXXI (1957), 391-405. The Gilpins, who established the Brandywine Paper Mills in Delaware, were a well-known and well-to-do family. They were the first in America to replace handmade paper with machine-made or paper with a continuous web. The business lasted half a century, 1787 to 1837.

* * *

George E. Gifford, Jr., writing on "Daniel Defoe and Maryland" in *Maryland Historical Magazine,* LII (1957), 307-315, finds "the one positive source of information about early Maryland for Defoe was his tobacco factor in Maryland, Samuel Sandford. In the 1680-1690's Defoe was active in shipping affairs" (p. 313). But the main part of the article is an analysis of the story, oft repeated and embroidered since 1874, that Defoe's niece Elizabeth Maxwell migrated as a redemptioner in 1718 to Cecil County, Maryland, was bought by Andrew Job, a Quaker there, and married his son Thomas. Though the story is repeated, among others, in Gilbert Cope's *Genealogy of the Sharpless Family* (1887), according to Gifford it "is not substantiated by known facts."

* * *

In an extended and quite technical article on "The Earliest Use of Coke for Iron Making" (reprinted from the *Gas World,* Coking Section, January 5th, 1957), R. A. Mott pays tribute to the epoch-making contribution of Abraham Darby (1678-1717), the first of four generations of that name connected with the iron industry at Coalbrookdale. Using for the first time the extant early account books of the company, he traces the development of the making of coke instead of charcoal for the iron industry. These Friends transformed an enterprise that "has increased the comfort and enlarged the horizon of man." The writer is appreciative of Arthur Raistrick's *Dynasty of Ironfounders: The Darbys and Coalbrookdale* (1953), but goes into greater detail with excellent technical mastery and historical analysis. The experiment evidently began about 1709 and was successively perfected. Its success included the making of thin castings in dry sand moulds.

* * *

"The Fenimore Family," a three-generation genealogy compiled by Walter L. Sheppard, is published in *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register,* 111 (1957), 267-288. Richard Fenimore of Bucks, England, was associated with New Jersey from 1677 and died in 1713, a resident of Burlington. Like him, many of his descendants remained Friends.

* * *

Internal Affairs, the monthly bulletin of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (XXV, No. 2-3 [February-March 1957], 1-6, 27-29) has an illustrated article, "Penn Family's Papers Itemized in 1748 List Found in Land Office." These papers, going back as

far as a Dutch purchase of land in the present state of Delaware, 1659, mostly dealt with deeds, grants, wills, involving Pennsylvania property. For the affairs of the family and their colony the list is of great interest.

* * *

Jemima Wilkinson is again (cf. this Bulletin, XLV, 53) the subject of a general article, "Portrait of a Prophetess," by Herbert A. Wisbey, Jr., in *New York History,* XXXVIII (1957), 387-396. The article reports the recovery of an uncompleted portrait of this "Universal Friend" and reproduces a copy of a similar one.

* * *

A sixteen-page illustrated pamphlet, *The History of Centre Friends Meeting, 1757-1954,* was prepared in 1954 prior to the bicentennial of the meeting, apparently to celebrate the completion of the fourth meeting-house at Centre (note spelling), a Friends' settlement not far from the older New Garden, North Carolina. With numerous names and dates, in spite of the loss by fire of the Monthly Meeting records for the first hundred years, is told the story of the meeting, its buildings, its innovations—pastors, Sunday Schools, etc. As the present building was largely due to the cooperative manual work of the members, so this pamphlet is the work of a committee of the meeting.

* * *

The heroic life of the late Warder Clyde Allee(1885-1955) is beautifully and understandingly treated in a biographical memoir by his intimate friend and fellow zoologist, the late Karl Patterson Schmidt. (National Academy of Sciences of the United States, *Biographical Memoirs,* XXX [1957]; also printed as a separate pamphlet, forty pages with a portrait.) His scientific work is fully described but not too technically, and in addition his Quaker background and lifelong interests, his family life, and his relationships to colleagues and students. There is a bibliography of his writings.

* * *

The Journals of Welcome Arnold Greene, edited by Howard Greene and Alice E. Smith (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1956, 221 pages) is a book further described as the Voyages of the Brigantine *Perseverance,* 1817-1820. The author (1795-1870) was a pretty good Quaker, who used the numerical names of the months and had an aversion to the military profession. His two voyages both took him from his home on Narragansett Bay to eastern South America and to Gibraltar, the first one as far north as Bergen, Norway. Traveling as supercargo on his employers' ship, he wrote, as he says, for his own amusement, and so he tells many details of more general interest than appear in the business letters to his firm S. G. Arnold and Company, some of which are inserted in proper places.

* * *

Business without Boundary: The Story of General Mills by James Gray

(Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954, 343 pages) is the history of an old and expanding flour concern, formerly Washburn Crosby Company, makers of Gold Medal Flour. It deserves mention here because of the active partnership in the firm of two Philadelphia Quakers: William Hood Dunwoody, between 1877 and 1914, and James Stroud Bell, between 1888 and 1915.

* * *

From *Friends Miscellany* the *Germantowne Crier,* IX, No. 1 (March 1957), 15-17, 21-23, reprints in condensed form Jacob Lindley's journal of a journey to attend the Indian Treaty held at Sandusky in 1793.

* * *

Samuel T. Pickard's *Whittier-Land,* an invaluable handbook to the Whittier Country for visitors or for lovers of the poet, has now been reprinted with a brief preface by Walter Muir Whitehill, in which changes during the last half century in the places mentioned are noted. (Haverhill, Massachusetts: Trustees of the John Greenleaf Whittier Homestead, xiii, 160 pages, illustrated, 1956).

* * *

Henry van Etten's article, *"Les Quakers et la Révolution Française"* appeared after some delay in *Revue internationale d'histoire politique et constitutionnelle,* N.S. No. 24 (October-December 1956), 278-287. It reviews the beginnings of Quakerism and Penn's founding of Pennsylvania and then reports references to Quakers in French writers from Voltaire down, including the legendary praise they received in some, but not all, writers about America in the period of the French Revolution. Jean de Marsillac and Thomas Paine are the last persons mentioned in the article. Most of the article runs parallel to *The Good Quaker in French Legend* by Edith Philips (1932) and is presumably derived from it. As is usual with references to Quakers before 1650, the reference (p. 280) to Sorbière 1644 is a mistake—for 1664.

* * *

An illustrated *History of West Branch Quarterly Meeting of the Society of Friends, West Milton, Ohio, 1807-1957* (1957, 74 pages) was published in connection with the sesquicentennial of the "setting off" of West Branch from Miami meeting. There is a brief historical sketch of over a dozen constituent meetings and genealogical information about some thirty of the families whose names go back far in the membership. Finally, there are given from the National Archives in Washington the names of the heads of families in the 1820 Census for the three local townships in Miami County.

* * *

Issued under the Irish Manuscripts Commission is a fine piece of editing by P. Beryl Eustace and Olive C. Goodbody (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1957, 136 pages) entitled *Quaker Records. Dublin Abstract of Wills.* The abstracts number 224 and are pretty evenly distributed over the decades from 1675 to 1758. There are good indexes.

Mary McGregor Miller has compiled *The Warder Family: A Short History* (printed under the auspices of the Clark County Historical Society, 1957, 37 pages, illustrated). As was to be expected of a local Ohio historical society, it is mainly concerned with the branch of the family that migrated to lands near Springfield, Ohio, about 1830. This was first Jeremiah (1780-1849), grandson and namesake of the son of the first Warder immigrant, and three sons of the second Jeremiah. This branch of the family ultimately left the Society of Friends. The booklet includes references to the earlier (and more Quakerly) history of the family and shows accurate acquaintance with the source material.

* * *

An article by J. Gallagher on "Fowell Buxton and the New African Policy, 1838-1842" in the *Cambridge Historical Journal,* X (1950), 36-58, is a study of a man of Quaker connections who combined humanitarian enthusiasm with British expansionist politics in West Africa. It has substantial topical interest for events in British Africa today.

* * *

A sixty-four-page pamphlet, *History of 57th Street Meeting of Friends 1931-1956* (Chicago, published by the meeting, 1957), includes separate sections about three antecedent strands and three chapters on the twenty-five-year history of the present meeting. Compared with the much longer span of most published meeting histories, this one allowed its authors to give fuller reference to the roles of named and remembered persons. It is a clear account of a remarkable but not untypical evolution of a "United Meeting." According to recent figures, its membership was about 350 with about four-fifths of them Friends by convincement, two-thirds non-resident members.

* * *

The William and Mary Quarterly (3rd series, XIV [1957], 344-357) contains an article by John E. Pomfret on "The Apologia of Governor Lawrie of East New Jersey, 1686." This is based on Gawen Lawrie's manuscript description of the characteristic friction between settlers and proprietors prior to Lawrie's removal in 1686. The text of this manuscript is published with an introduction by the same writer in the *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society, LXXV (1957), 95-111, "Governor Lawrie's 'Brief Account,' 1686." Neither publication refers to the other.

* * *

"How the Quakers Came to Central Pennsylvania" by Lewis Edwin Theiss in the *Proceedings* of the Northumberland County Historical Society, XXI (1957), 67-77, is an article that deals with a group arriving at Catawissa shortly before 1775, many of whom migrated as suddenly to Canada within half a century. Among the monuments that remain are the meetinghouses at Muncy and Millville, Pennsylvania.

Articles in Quaker Periodicals

By LYMAN W. RILEY

The American Friend

George Minnott reviews briefly "Jamaica's Quaker Heritage," which began with the arrival on the island of fifty-five Friends in 1665.—Oct. 31, 1957, p. 253.

In "Whittier—American Quaker Prophet" J. Floyd Moore gives in outline the story of Whittier's life and describes his significance for present-day Quaker faith and action.—Nov. 28, 1957, pp. 376-378.

Friends Journal

John Hobart's purpose in "Holy Writ and Quaker Witness" is to trace the place of the Bible in the life of Friends from 1650 to the present. He cites Fox, Barclay, Isaac Crewdson, Abraham Shackleton, Penn, and Henry J. Cadbury.—June 29, 1957, pp. 420-421; July 6, 1957, pp. 436-437.

Letter from the Past No. 163 is "Friends and Mayflower I"; it explodes three mistaken notions—that the Pilgrims wore Quaker dress, that Pilgrims persecuted Friends, and that the hull of the Mayflower was used to build the barn at Jordans.—July 20, 1957, p. 472.

Frederick B. Tolles describes two documents pertaining to "Quaker Objectors to Loyalty Oaths in 1778"; six Pennsylvania Friends were imprisoned at Lancaster for refusing to swear an oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth.—July 27, 1957, pp. 487-488.

The conception of "Christ in Early Quakerism" was, according to a short, solid article by Maurice A. Creasey, a "comprehensive" one, with both a "particular and universal, historical and mystical emphasis."—Oct. 5, 1957, pp. 644-645.

"The Quaker Approach to the Apocrypha" (Letter from the Past No. 164) was that of generally ignoring the books even when not worrying much about the correctness of the canon. Luke Howard, however, in 1827-1829, translated some of the Apocrypha as part of his Bible translations.—Oct. 12, 1957, pp. 660-661.

C. Marshall Taylor notes that one of Whittier's best known poems was written as a protest against creeds; "Whittier and 'The Eternal Goodness' "—Oct. 12, 1957, pp. 661-662.

Frederick B. Tolles writes of "William Penn's Frame of Government," pointing especially to his Whiggism and, even more important, his Quakerism as the sources for his liberal constitution for Pennsylvania. The

article is part of *The Witness of William Penn,* edited by Frederick B. Tolles and E. Gordon Alderfer.—Oct. 19, pp. 676-677.

Wilmer A. Cooper takes "Another Look at Rufus M. Jones"; he describes, critically as well as appreciatively, this influential Friend's views on religious mysticism, ethics, reason, Christ, and the history of the Society of Friends.—Oct. 26, 1957, pp. 692-693.

Letter from the Past No. 165, "The Call to Theologize," emphasizes the fact that for early Friends theology was strictly the verbalization of immediate, personal experience.—Nov. 2, 1957, pp. 711-712.

A note on "The New Penn Portraits"—of William and Hannah Penn by Francis Place (1647-1728)—is accompanied by reproductions of both. Nov. 9, 1957, p. 728.

Florence L. Sanville includes in "The Cross at Little Thakeham Meeting ('The Blue Idol')" some conjectural explanation for the odd nickname of this, William Penn's own meeting.—Nov. 16, 1957, pp. 743-744.

Howard H. Brinton publishes part of a letter (1826) of Edward Stabler which well expresses the Quaker concept of proper reform activity: "A Concern for the Oppressor."—Nov. 16, 1957, pp. 744-745.

The "Three Earlham Halls" described in Letter from the Past No. 166 are the home of Elizabeth Gurney Fry and Joseph John Gurney in England, and two women's residences (one now demolished) at Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana.—Nov. 30, 1957, p. 777.

On a date near the 150th anniversary of John Greenleaf Whittier's birth most of an issue is devoted to the Quaker poet: "Collecting Whittieriana" by C. Marshall Taylor; "Whittier's Quakerly Use of the Bible," Letter from the Past No. 167; "Whittier, Quaker Liberal and Reformer" by Howard W. Hintz; "Most Winning Spokesman of the Moral Life" by Anna Brinton. Excerpts from some of his poems are included.—Dec. 7, 1957.

Caroline N. Jacob tells the story of "William Edmondson and Ireland's First Quaker Meeting."—Dec. 7, 1957, pp. 788-790.

The Friends' Quarterly

In the course of an article on a contemporary problem, namely, "The Worshipping Community and its Meeting House," Edward H. Milligan provides, in a convenient form, much useful information on meetinghouse history.—July, 1957, pp. 98-109.

"The Duke of Buckingham and Friends" is a defence by Alfred W. Braithwaite of the character and sincerity of the second duke, George Villiers; the author calls to his aid the opinions of William Penn and other Friends who knew and admired the duke.—July, 1957, pp. 137-141.

Martha Wilson writes a discerning article on "Whittier: Poet of Reform," calling attention to his early decision to work and write for abolition and the effect this "moral engagement" had on his poetry. She compares Whittier's situation and his decision with a number of twentieth-century poets.—October, 1957, 169-176.

"Quakerism and Social History: A Swiss Scholar's Estimate" is a review article on Paul Held's *Quäker im Dienst am Nächsten,* a study of English social history in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is written by Katharina Petersen and translated by Bertha L. Bracey.—January, 1958, 18-25.

Journal of the Friends' Historical Society

In "Ireland in the Sixteen-fifties. A Background to the Coming of Quakerism" Olive C. Goodbody describes briefly the condition—mostly miserable—of the roads, houses, and diet in this war-stricken country.—48 (1956), 33-37.

Olive Goodbody writes more about Irish Friends, this time giving an account of "Anthony Sharp, Wool Merchant, 1643-1707, and the Quaker Community in Dublin." She presents in much detail the story of this active Friend, prominent in both Quaker and civic affairs, and provides much information about the city of Dublin.—48 (1956), 38-50.

A. B. Searle writes a useful note on "William Haseldine Pepys, 1775-1856," a Friend who made valuable discoveries in the fields of chemistry, physics, and botany, and who devised numerous pieces of laboratory equipment that have been widely used.—48 (1956), 54.

"Darlington: the English Philadelphia" is Amy E. Wallis' account of the Friends meeting in that city. She includes personal reminiscences as well as informative and amusing accounts of many Friends of the area; the Backhouse and Pease families were especially prominent.—48 (1956), 55-70.

Russell S. Mortimer has written notes on "Early Irish Friends in the Records of Bristol Meeting"; he prints a number of extracts from the minute books of the seventeenth century. These show not only the usual removal and marriage clearance certificates but also mutual relief grants. —48 (1956), 71-78.

Geoffrey F. Nuttall provides from several sources "Notes on Richard Farnworth" (d. 1666); these give some information about his religious development and his marriage, and suggest that his writings, as well as some others, may be used to supplement and correct George Fox's *Journal.* —48 (1956), 79-84.

Publication of the "A. R. Barclay MSS" continues; writers are Thomas Aldam, Francis Howgill, John Audland, and Mary Howgill; recipients are George Fox and Edward Burrough.—48 (1956), 85-93.